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ABSTRACT

An ethnographic study of the intake process involving the formal assessment, placement, and educational programming of 12 Hispanic deaf/hearing impaired children, aged 3-8, in both a private school for the deaf and the New York City public schools, was conducted over a 2-year period (1984-1986). Participant observation, interviewing, and electronic recording were used to monitor the intake process which included formal assessments, case conferences, parent/teacher meetings, written reports (including Individualized Education Programs), correspondence with state education officials, as well as both home and classroom interactional settings. Gaps were found to exist between policy/legal guidelines and actual practice, especially concerning the active participation of Hispanic parents in decision making, and the accurate assessment of the social, communicative, and educational abilities and needs of the deaf children. These gaps appeared to result from social and cultural rather than individual or psychological factors. In order to foster the provision of improved services for Hispanic families and their disabled children it is recommended that: (1) certain changes in legal guidelines and organizational structures within special education systems be explored; (2) training programs for policy makers and educators in special education systems be instituted; and (3) training and information programs for Hispanic parents be developed. (Appendices constituting over half the document provide: (1) plans for further analysis of data and dissemination of results; (2) a description of a national survey used in the study with a summary of results; and (3) an extensive annotated bibliography for researchers and educators interested in applying the ethnographic perspective. Two resarch guides are also appended.) (Author/DB)

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SCHOOLING THE DIFFERENT:
Ethnographic Case Studies of Hispanic Deaf Children's Initiation Into Formal Schooling

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February 1987

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SCHOOLING THE DIFFERENT: ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDIES OF HISPANIC DEAF CHILDREN'S INITIATION INTO FORMAL SCHOOLING

Abstract

An ethnographic study of the intake process involving the formal assessment, placement and educational programming of Hispanic deaf/hearing impaired children, aged 3-8, was conducted over a two-year period (1984-1986). Twelve children were selected for intensive case study in two settings: a private school for the deaf in a large northeastern city and the public school system of the same city. Participant observation, interviewing, and electronic recording were used to monitor all aspects of the intake process, including formal assessments, case conferences and parent/teacher meetings, written reports (including Individualized Education Programs) and correspondence with state education officials, as well as both home and classroom interactional settings.

Data was analyzed with particular focus on: (1) the influence of school/institutional social organization and cultural process on the intake process; (2) the developing relations between parents and school professionals; (3) participation in decision-making processes; (4) the response of children being initiated into new institutional settings, including communicative strategies children used with teachers and peers; (5) the social and cultural nature of school and classroom environments; and (6) the relationship between policy/legal guidelines to actual day-to-day practices related to the intake process.

Certain gaps were found to exist between policy/legal guidelines and actual practice, especially concerning the active participation of Hispanic parents in decision making, and the accurate assessment of the social, communicative, and educational abilities/needs of the deaf children. These gaps were produced through the interaction of several factors which are of a social and cultural, rather than individual or psychological, nature. This was so despite the best efforts of many dedicated professional educators themselves. In general, Hispanic parents demonstrated considerable skills in providing strong supportive relationships within the family for their deaf/hearing impaired children, but lacked knowledge of how to make their voices heard in institutional systems such as schools and school systems.

In order to foster the provision of improved services for Hispanic families and their disabled children it is recommended that: (1) certain changes in legal guidelines and organizational structures within special education systems be explored; (2) training programs for policy makers and educators in special education systems be instituted; (3) training and information programs for Hispanic parents should be developed.

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PREFACE

Content of this Report

The following pages constitute the final research report for Grant # G008400653, Project # 023CH40210. "Research on Developing and Implementing Intake Procedures Affecting Educational Programming for Hispanic Hearing Impaired Children." This research project was funded from July 1, 1984 to June 30, 1986 by the Special Education and Rehabilitative Services Branch of the U. S. Department of Education. The research was conducted by Adrian Bennett, principal investigator, of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, CUNY. Assistance was provided under subcontract by the The Lexington Center, Inc.

An ethnographic and anthropological perspective was used to study intake procedures involving preschool-age Hispanic hearing impaired children. Hence our concern throughout was with "on the ground" fieldwork, including intensive participant observation, interviewing, and video- and audio-tape recording. As is characteristic with ethnography, we collected an enormous amount of data in the form of field notes, interview summaries, tape recordings, as well as written records and documents.

As principal investigator, I am currently writing a more extensive report (described on pp. 30-32 of the present document) which will provide a more detailed discussion of our methodology and findings, and which will also illustrate

the kinds of analyses we are pursuing in our continuing review of this data. This is an extensive process that can take some time to complete. In the meantime we offer this truncated version of the longer report which consists of the following sections:

Chapter I: "An Ethnographic Study of the Intake Process." This chapter summarizes our findings to date (pp. 1-7); describes the focus of the study (pp. 8-11); specifies indicators of the particular educational needs of Hispanic hearing impaired children, and discusses the importance of understanding sociocultural processes related to those needs (pp. 11-25); discusses the ethnographic framework of the study, including general research issues (pp. 25-30); and provides a chapter-by-chapter description of the longer (forthcoming) version of the report which we expect to complete by June 30, 1987.

Chapter II: "Methods of Data Collection and Preliminary Analysis." This chapter goes into detail about how we actually applied our ethnographic methodology to collect data to answer the kinds of questions raised in Chapter I. We also discuss problems encountered in the field and adjustments made to our original plans as a result of these problems. In addition we describe

methods of preliminary analyses which we conducted as the data collection proceeded, and which helped to guide further data collection and refinement of specific research questions.

Appendix A: "Plans for Further Analysis of Data and Dissemination of Results." This section discusses in some detail plans for continuing analysis of the data and for dissemination of our findings through the development of training and curricular materials, papers presented at scholarly conferences, articles to be submitted to scholarly journals, and a book to be published in 1988 by Falmer Press, Ltd.

Appendix B: "National Survey." This section describes and summarizes results of a questionnaire, with selected telephone follow-up, sent out to a selection of agencies in the United States serving substantial numbers of hearing impaired Hispanic children.

Appendix C: "Annotated Bibliography." This section includes an extensive annotated bibliography, divided into several related categories, intended to assist other researchers and educators interested in applying an

ethnographic perspective to related areas of research (minorities in education; deaf education; special education systems and policy; ethnographic methodology, etc.).

Appendix D: "Guide for the Ethnographic Study of the Intake Process." This appendix consists of a guide the project director wrote to aid the research associate and project assistant in carrying out their responsibilities for collecting and reviewing data.

Appendix E: "Data collection Procedures for the Second Year." This appendix consists of a guide, modified from that of the first year in Appendix D, to assist the new research associate, who had replaced the first year's associate.

A Note on Implications of the Research

Chapter VII of the longer, forthcoming, version of our report will include a detailed discussion of the implications of our study for policymaking, implementing effective intake procedures for Hispanic hearing impaired children, and developing good relations with Hispanic families and communities. We will also discuss there certain fundamental theoretical issues which grew out of our research regarding the relationship of social institutions

and the culturally "different" ethnic minority populations which they serve. This discussion will, we hope, contribute to developments in the study of sociocultural processes in educational systems.

However, we believe it may be useful to summarize more briefly some of the implications of our study as we now see them for readers of this shorter version of our report. We focus particularly on the issue of the relevance of the ethnographic-anthropological perspective for getting an understanding of the educational and assessment issues in minority special education. The reader might benefit from reading pages 1-7 of this report, which summarize our findings, before continuing with this section.

We took the point of view in our research that ethnography approaches the social world as a confluence of "voices," an interface of institutions, persons, experiences and interests which involve complexes of interpersonal and group interaction organized around specific communicative practices and symbolic processes. These interactional processes take place over time, accumulating thereby a history with determinate outcomes for specific individuals or groups. It is the focus on the social processes through which particular outcomes are produced which dictates the specific methodologies employed by the ethnographer, whether these involve participant observation, interviewing, reviewing documents, tape recording or filming, or searching through archival records or archealogical remains. In other

words, it is the anthropologist's interest in social process which dictates specific methodologies and which defines ethnography as a field of interest, a perspective. The specific methodologies do not, either singly or in combination, constitute ethnography in and of themselves.

Given the application of this perspective to our research project of investigating the intake process involving young Hispanic hearing impaired children , our methodology and findings have certain implications for special education policy and for research in special education, particularly where the needs of "culturally different" populations are in question.

We found that we were able to document certain social processes by means of which Hispanic children were defined with respect to school values and social structures. We also documented processes through which particular relations between parents and school staff were developed and, as it were, set in place. These processes involved the deployment by participants of certain notions of ethnicity, culture, minorities, language and communication, the "child," and deafness. These concepts were intricately involved in interactions between parents, school staff and children in that participants used them to interpret each others' communicative acts, as well as to explain their own actions and beliefs. We found that concepts like "ethnicity," "culture," "the child," etc. were in fact not simple "semantic primitives which could not be further analyzed.

Rather, they were complexes of contextually shifting meanings, values and interests which were not necessarily clearly defined in any particular context. Thus, the meaning and functional use of a concept of "being Hispanic" could shift, depending on who deployed the concept and the contexts in which it was brought into play. For example, for some staff members, whose special responsibility was to mediate between school and Hispanic clientele, it was important to assert, and keep reasserting, how Hispanics were "different" from other groups of parents or children, requiring thereby special expertise and linguistic skills from staff who "served" their needs.

Much of our data collection, as well as subsequent analyses, have focused on negotiations between participants over who had the final authority over the child (including how that child was to be defined, or assigned a particular identity) in particular domains. These "negotiations," which sometimes involved struggles and conflicts, also involved the children themselves in both classroom and test situations. But these interactions could not be understood as mere interpersonal relations being constructed by individuals in a vacuum. Their context in the institutional structures of schools, school systems, the framework of legal restrictions and mandates governing special education in the U. S., as well as certain ideological and structural aspects of the general society in which these systems are

embedded had to be taken into account in interpreting our data.

To be more specific, we found a considerable gap between the "intent" of the law, as embodied in PL 94-142 and in Part 200 of the Regulations of the New York State Commissioner of Education, that parents should participate in decision making on the one hand, and the actual day to day level of social reality in the schools on the other. We also found that the "rational" system of assessment, placement and educational programming embodied in the law leaves much out of account that directly affects the kind of educational treatment the child actually receives, as well as the child's response to that treatment.

In general, though not in all cases or in all situations, participation of the Hispanic parents of our case study children in decision making was minimal, though they diligently attended intake tests, case conferences, parent-teacher conferences, etc. The more extended version of our report will document some of the specific social processes whereby these outcomes were produced, sustained, and explained by participants themselves (Chapter VI). We will also discuss there certain differences between various parents in terms of their participation. These differences were influenced by a combination of factors, including social class relations, communicative styles, and the specific concerns of parents themselves.

Our research indicates that in order to increase Hispanic parent participation a number of factors need to be taken into account. These include certain social structural, cultural and ideological factors. For example, the law provides no formal structures for participation beyond specifying due process rights in case of unresolvable disagreements, and rights of parents to be present at case conferences and to refuse to endorse an IEP. We found that most Hispanic parents did not well understand their role in the intake process, even when in their own view professional staff had made particular efforts to inform the parents. We also found that parents' attempts to express disagreement at certain points in the intake process were not always fully understood as such by staff, or, over the course of a series of interactions, were sometimes glossed over or redefined in more limited terms. Most of the parents had therefore only a rather general and vague idea of how different parts of the intake process related to each other, or how the intake itself fitted into the overall educational system.

We also found that staff members whose role was to act as intermediaries between school and parents, and who were also Hispanic and native Spanish speakers, were not always able to be effective in assisting parents. These staff sometimes felt they were caught in conflicts between the school's interests and those of parents, conflicts which could jeopardize their own position as professionals. Such conflicts were in fact characteristic of the positions of

administrators, teachers and testing staff in general. That is, certain aspects of the sociocultural system of special education itself seemed at times to militate against the best efforts of professional staff to serve, or even accurately to gauge, the needs of Hispanic parents as their children progressed through the many stages of the rather complicated intake process.

An important factor related to parent participation has to do with the notion of individualization, which is not only an important concept in school culture (perhaps especially so in special education), but is embedded in the law which governs special education itself. This concept affects both the ways in which parent participation is structured in the intake process, and the ways children are assigned particular identities in the school context, including both the assessment and classroom contexts.

As regards the first matter, we interpret our research findings to indicate the need for strong parent organizations which make collective action a possibility. Because of certain social and cultural "gaps" between schools as institutional systems, and the sociocultural world familiar to most Hispanic children in their home and urban neighborhood environments, we believe parents can play an important role in helping to mediate differences and potential conflicts between these different sociocultural systems.

We do not, however, believe that the answer lies simply in "acculturating" parents to the ways of being and believing that are prevalent in schools. Most of our parents, in fact, share the belief in the importance of education that schools usually try to foster, and maintain a strong interest in their children's educational progress and development. However, many of the values and organizational structures of schools seem to be quite alien, even irrelevant, to the position most Hispanic families occupy in the urban U.S. environment (in a political and economic sense, as well as sociocultural and demographic senses).

Because of a variety of factors, some of which we encountered repeatedly in our research, it is difficult for school staff to gauge accurately the world of these families, and to determine their needs and the best ways to furnish a quality education to their children. Parent organizations, if they were at least partially independent of the schools and controlled by parents themselves, could potentially provide both support for individual parents and assistance to school staff in making adjustments to their minority populations. However, the notion of individualization, which is generally assumed without question to be a value in itself, with its concomitant practice of treating each case separately, tends to work against collective action and participation on the part of parents. For example, our research indicates that parent advocates play little or no role in helping parents new to

the schooling system understand their rights or develop positive strategies to become active participants in decision making and the education of their children. If parent advocates were chosen and trained--with the assistance of professional educators--by parent organizations, they might become an effective source of information for incoming parents, who could then take a more knowledgeable and active role in assisting their child's progress through the intake process, and through formal schooling thereafter. Such advocates could also act as liaison persons between parents, school and parent organizations.

It is likely that only parents themselves could ensure effective support of individual children and families in the intake process, particularly where particular ethnic minorities such as Blacks or Hispanics are involved. This is because such groups have not only different communicative or cultural "styles" from those which are the norm in schools generally, but because those different "styles" are really outcomes of longterm historical processes in which these groups evolved specific systems of communication and culture to cope with their unique circumstances in U.S. society. Of course the picture is complicated for Hispanics, as our case study families exemplify, for while some have had considerable contact with U.S. society, others have had little. There are therefore concomitant differences within the general Hispanic community which can

be attributed to such factors as families' immigration experience, their relation to the job market in the home country and/or in the U.S., and their connections--if any--with Hispanic communities in the U.S.

New organizational structures to encourage the collective independence of parents would need to be developed, though it is not immediately clear how this could be brought about or what the role of educators should be in the process. One very positive factor we found in both the private and public school settings is that many administrators were sincerely concerned with providing equitable educational opportunities to Hispanic children, and aware that Hispanic parents generally participated on a rather minimal level in their child's education. They showed considerable interest in and support for our research, and expressed a willingness to explore with us possibilities for improving relations on many levels with their Hispanic clientele.

We also found certain other obstacles to collective action on the part of parents which were quite beyond the direct influence of educators. These are in fact manifold. For example, children may enter the school system at very different times during a school year. Our case study children entered the intake process at very varied times, including summer months. Moreover, families with handicapped children live all over the city, spread out over a very wide area. The vast majority of Hispanic parents in

the New York city area are also quite poor, lack steady work, and have to rely on public transportation to meet appointments at a variety of public agencies. They often have other young children who are in local schools, are of preschool age. Their deaf child, on the other hand, may have to be transported some distance to a school. All of these factors militate against the development of informal relationships which could in turn provide the basis for collective activity and organization.

The public school system in New York city adds further logistical difficulties, in that there is considerable organizational as well as geographic distance between the various key sites where different parts of the intake are conducted. A parent may have to bring the child to the local school district office where the local Committee on the Handicapped is housed. Each district in the city has its own COH. Then the parent will have to bring the child to the citywide committee which provides formal assessments of visually impaired and hearing handicapped children. This can mean a considerable distance to travel for some parents. The citywide committee holds its own "case conference" in which test results are reported by the assessment team. Parents may attend these meetings. Later, however, the district COH holds another case conference, the "official" one in which the IEP is presented. Again, the parent may attend, though he/she may be unclear as to which of these meetings really counts in the placement and educational

programming of her child. Later the child will be assigned to a particular school, within the local district if possible, but that is not always possible since appropriate programs are not always available within the district. There is then a considerable diffusion of authority in the public school system as regards the intake process, which tends to confuse parents and defuse any objections they may have along the way. Again, a parent may meet another parent in a waiting room at one of these offices, in which case they sometimes share their experiences. But most likely they will be from different neighborhoods or different parts of the city and will not see each other again. It is therefore difficult for them to build upon shared experiences over an extended period of time.

While parents are thus more or less isolated from each other, schools and school systems present them with highly "rationalized" processes and fairly fixed institutional structures and processing procedures. We believe there is a need, therefore, to explore the possibilities of developing area-wide networks of Hispanic parents with handicapped children which actively incorporate local chapters at school or district level. Such a system might best be developed independently of, though hopefully in cooperation with, the schools.

Our research, as we have noted, indicates the difficulties which might impede the development of such organizations. At the same time, we found--both through

interviews and observations of parents interacting with their children at home--that the "folk knowledge" of many of our parents provided them with a quite strong basis for developing an intelligent understanding of the system of formal schooling in special education. That is, they sorely needed information about the particulars of that system and the interrelationships of its various organizational parts, but they were not lacking in ability to analyze new information based on their specific encounters, or to share their experiences with other parents.

Regarding this last point of sharing experiences, the main exceptions were, among our case study families, those parents who identified with an elite social class. They had fully accepted the cultural values of individualization along with its concomitant values of individual responsibility, competitiveness and "context free" evaluation of each child's needs and abilities. They were not interested in associating with the bulk of our parents, who were essentially members of a marginal labor force or even an "underclass" who had given up hope of full and steady employment. And although the ability to speak Spanish acted to unify parents in most cases, giving them a basis for mutual identification with a Latino group despite much variation in their countries of origin, our more elite parents saw their own dialects as superior to those of the working class parents. Thus, language could unify or separate, symbolically, depending on how parents perceived

their own social class position. The obvious implication is that unity cannot be achieved through shared language alone, just as Hispanic resource specialists' abilities as native speakers of Spanish did not of themselves give them accurate insight on the needs of parents or the quality of their lives.

What would parent organizations be able to do for individual parents that schools do not already do? First, they could select and train their own parent advocates who could take a more active role in informing parents and supporting them in case conferences, parent-teacher meetings, and other encounters with professional staff. They could also take more responsibility for informing parents of the nature of the intake process, perhaps guiding them through particular parts of it. They could determine through discussion their own needs as parents, as well as those of their children, drawing at will on resources offered by the schools. If necessary, they could undertake collective action in response to school, state, or federal policy developments. However, as we noted above, such action might be rendered ineffective by the law itself, which treats parents and families as individual units isolable from their communities, rather than as a collective force. We believe changes in the law itself are in fact needed if really effective parent participation is to be encouraged. That is, structures should be built into the law to ensure parents are provided with opportunities to

develop their own parent organizations that can then develop and give voice to their own interests.

We turn now to the other general issue of our research, which is our concern with how the children responded to being initiated into formal schooling, and how the school systems shaped and defined that response in particular terms. Again, ethnography enabled us to look at ongoing social processes as these developed over time. Thus, as we followed each child through the intake process we were able to build up histories of the developing interaction between school and child, based on observations, interviews, tape recording and reviews of all relevant official documents, such as IEPs. We will provide a detailed discussion of the play of forces involving the intake of one child in Chapter VI of the extended report which is forthcoming, as well as in our forthcoming book.

Our concern was with getting at the social and cultural processes and constraints which affect the way the child was defined in the school setting and the child's response. This meant getting some sense of the structural constraints on the school environment so that we could gauge its relative rigidities and flexibilities in particular instances of child-school contact, as well as interpret the child's response to situations of contact.

In general, we found very strong structural constraints underlying both testing and classroom situations. That is, staff, whether administrators, test specialists, or teachers

tended to confirm certain perspectives on the child, certain assumptions about deafness, children, child development, learning processes, and educational goals. This does not mean there were not important differences between, for example, certain teachers on the one hand, and test specialists or supervisors on the other. Nevertheless, certain constraints on time and space, allocations of resources and rewards within the classroom context, and basic cultural values were widely shared among professionals. Where dissent could be detected, it was most often expressed by teachers, and usually those who were more experienced.

By comparison, the children's responses to the school context varied considerably. That variation is in itself of some interest. Undoubtedly much of it derived in some sense from the sociocultural milieu of home and neighborhood. That is, we assumed that the children drew on prior experience at home and in their communities to develop particular responses to schooling, and in our home visits we tried to gather data with this assumption in mind. One particularly interesting difference seemed to reflect gender relations, with boys tending to be more "disruptive" or in our own terms, resistant, to coercion from peers or teachers. However, this did not hold true of all the boys, since one at least among them was relatively passive in the classroom. Similarly, two of our girls were at least as

"disruptive" as any of the boys and perhaps more difficult to control.

As ethnographers, we did not approach the interaction of school and child with any particular preconceptions about what the school environment or the child's response should be like. We were interested only in finding out as much as we could of what it actually was like, particularly in what it seemed to be like from the children's point of view.

We found that in general children's identities were defined by professionals with reference to the sociocultural world and interests of the school. For example, a child who did not cooperate in the testing situation was defined as "oppositional" rather than as engaging in reasonable or justifiable active resistance to the demands of the situation as experienced by the child. In fact, the situation of testing, as a social situation involving the construction of a particular social reality, was generally left quite entirely out of consideration in assessment reports, case conferences and IEPs.

This was true of classrooms as well, though we found significant exceptions among certain more experienced teachers who were able to analyze quite perspicaciously the daily social dramas of classroom life and the participatory roles of our case study children in them.

On the other hand, one of our children who was actually violent towards other children in the classroom, was seen as having a personal and individual problem--specifically

"anger"--rather than as responding to his own interpretation of his experience in the classroom. When his mother tried to present a critique of the classroom structure as at least a partial explanation of his behavior, that critique was essentially redefined in much more limited terms that had little to do with the sociocultural milieu of the classroom (we discuss this case in Chapter VI of the extended report).

That social environment of the classroom had quite a mixture of the highly structured and constrained or "teacher controlled" (though teachers did not always manage to maintain control during these times) on the one hand, and the "unstructured" on the other. Within this fluctuating framework somewhat independent, yet mutually related streams of discourse could be discerned: the official school discourse on the one hand, and the unofficial or unauthorized peer-controlled discourse on the other. Sometimes these streams ran counter to each other, as when children "disrupted" a teacher-directed activity. Sometimes one stream seemed submerged by the other. For example, at times teachers maintained control and children cooperated, while at times children developed their own interactions which could be entirely beyond teacher control. A child's particular behavior at any given time was generally interpreted (by adults) in reference to the official discourse stream. But if peer-controlled activity was authorized by teachers--such as playground play--what could

be considered a disruption in a more teacher-controlled setting might merely be seen as an interpersonal conflict.

Nevertheless, the two streams interpenetrated; they influenced each other, and these mutually-determining influences affected the way teachers and supervisors defined our case study children. For example, certain values explicitly supported by the official discourse stream sometimes became an object of contention in the peer discourse. Moreover, there were certain contradictory forces interacting in both streams. On the one hand, teachers explicitly taught cooperation, yet engaged in practices which also fostered individual competitiveness. Many of the children were in fact fiercely competitive and used a wide variety of symbolic actions and objects to contest their standing with each other and/or with the teachers. Our case study children developed a wide array of strategies to learn about and to deal with this complex interplay of forces.

Ethnography, because it aims at documenting this confluence of forces--discourses, values, relationships--can provide a perspective to professionals on their own activities with the school setting in terms of how they influence the development of social relations. This perspective can help provide explanations or understandings of children's behavior that might be closer to the child's actual perceptions and experiences than that provided by the more usual focus on achieving specific educational or

behavioral goals. We are not arguing, by the way, for a so-called "child-centered" approach to schooling as opposed to a more "traditional" curriculum centered approach. In fact, the school we spent most time in had a child-centered philosophy. Rather, we are saying that a more accurate understanding of the child in terms of his/her relationship to the ongoing social processes in the classroom which the ethnographic perspective can help to provide can be very valuable to teachers and others responsible for assessing and providing educational programs for deaf Hispanic children.

Such a perspective is not readily available through other forms of research, such as those modelled on experimental laboratory methods. These latter methods tend to take for granted the values--explicit and implicit--of the sociocultural world of the school and classroom, values which might in fact be a major source of conflicts and resultant problems where ethnic minority children are involved. Thus, rather than simply defining a child with reference to a whole set of assumed values embedded in the very social organization of formal schooling itself, it might be particularly useful for professional educators to understand the child as responding to an experience--an interpretation if you will--of a complex social environment, that the professional him- or herself plays a role in constructing and maintaining.

For example, we found children often engaged in contests over symbols valued because of the power and access to resources or rewards they represented, or that they took them to represent. Whoever got to turn off the lights when the children went out to the playground had achieved an alignment with the power represented by the teachers, who controlled the lights directly or indirectly at all times (except when children challenged their control by turning the lights on or off without the teacher's permission). This symbolic act seemed to give superior status to children who succeeded in accomplishing it, and in certain classrooms rights to the lights were hotly contested.

When one observes a number of similar contests going on throughout the school day, it is an inadequate explanation to say, "this is what young children are like," since there is considerable crosscultural evidence based on ethnographic research on children in other societies that not all children are like this. That is, there must be something in the nature of the sociocultural environment of schooling itself which helps create a climate in which individual "achievement" is defined by the children themselves in terms of winning out over others, sometimes at others' expense, even if this means sometimes violating certain "rules."

Some of our Hispanic children took from the start a very passive attitude to the world of the classroom, especially when children were competing with each other or in conflict. Others "cooperated" with teachers and found

acceptable ways to assert their own identity and status against those of other children. Still others cooperated most of the time, yet were willing to go beyond limits set by the teachers at other times, thereby earning the view that they had "problems." Most of our case study children, even those with prior school experience, were seen by teachers as having some difficulty adjusting to the classroom environment. Several were recommended for psychological counseling. Again, in every case of a "problem," its source was located either in the child, or the child's home environment or family relationship, rarely in the interaction between the child and the classroom milieu. In this way, it was rare to hear professional staff openly critique any aspect of that social milieu, or even to raise doubts about its implications for the child's response to schooling.

The broadest implication of our ethnographic research is that it could be useful to understand test and classroom settings as social environments in which certain demands are made, certain values presumed to hold, certain relationships considered normal, etc. But these should be considered one set of environments out of other possible ones, created over historical time by the interaction of social forces which reach well beyond classroom and school itself. In the case of Hispanics, it is important that those forces rarely, if ever, have represented the interests or experiences of the vast majority of Hispanics in the U.S. It should not be

surprising if, therefore, institutions such as schools have been created which do not always match the needs of Hispanics, and which may even have built-in structures which make it difficult to adjust to Hispanic populations. This is true, we believe, despite the best intentions of many of the school personnel--administrators and teachers alike--to serve the Hispanic population well.

Because of its specificity regarding the description of sociocultural processes in particular settings, our ethnographic approach might well be adopted by professionals themselves and applied to their own settings. That is, our research does not necessarily dictate particular pedagogical practices which should be followed. But our approach does provide a way to understand particular practices in specific settings as having certain outcomes related to interactions within the school setting, and as evoking certain kinds of responses from Hispanic children. Rather than seeing children's actions as "disruptive" (though of course they may well disrupt what the teacher is trying to do), or "oppositional," they might be seen in the first instance as saying something <u>about</u> the social environment. Such a point of view could be particularly helpful in trying to understand hearing impaired or profoundly deaf Hispanic children's response to testing and schooling, since they do not generally have the expressive verbal means that their hearing peers normally have to explain their feelings.

<u>Conclusion</u>

As we indicate in Appendix A, we hope to develop this line of thinking further as we prepare curriculum materials for training professionals (as well as Hispanic parents) involved in various ways in the intake of Hispanic hearing impaired children. Our goal will be to develop materials in such a way that professionals--whether administrators, test specialists, or teachers--will be able to analyze the linkages between their daily professional practice, the sociocultural world of Hispanic communities (including the importance of specific relations to political and economic conditions), and the institutional structures of the law and special education systems. The most important implication of our research for professionals is not, then, to provide readymade formulae for refining already existing methods and materials. Rather it is in helping educators develop a more comprehensive perspective on their work as professionals that can facilitate serving the educational needs of ethnic minority children, whose sociocultural relationship to formal institutions of schooling is indeed quite complex, with many unique features for each such group.

While professionals may benefit from training of this sort, it is also important to keep in mind the need to develop more direct ways to assist parents. What they most lacked were, first, specific knowledge of special education systems and, second, strong parent organizations which could help them acquire and act appropriately on that knowledge. In developing training materials for parents, then, we hope

to provide a model for addressing the first of these needs. In developing training materials for professional educators--particularly administrators and policymakers--we hope to stimulate their thinking about the second need, so that they may provide organizational structures which will encourage the collective participation of parents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be impossible to conduct an ethnographic study in public institutions without the support and assistance of many people, some of whom inevitably become subjects of the study itself. Professionals in schools and school systems are in a particularly sensitive situation these days, especially in special education, which is under intense public and governmental scrutiny, and serves a very complex population with many special needs. That so many professionals allowed me to look over their shoulders and record what they were doing as they worked was very gratifying to me as an ethnographer. That many of them also gave freely of their time, though often already overburdened themselves, to offer numerous thoughtful insights (many of which I have incorporated in the analysis), was more than merely gratifying. Professionals like these demonstrate that there remain many dedicated and intelligent workers in the field of education, despite the somewhat tarnished image schools seem to have in our society, and the rather limited rewards our society metes out to professional educators themselves. My personal encounters with such professionals showed me that, though many changes are needed to better serve the Hispanic families and their disabled children who were the subjects of this study, enlightened reform is surely possible. I look forward to continued work with them.

Not all of those who helped me in my work can be named here, but the following must be mentioned because of their central importance. Administrators and other staff at The Lexington Center, Inc. were highly supportive and assisted me in innumerable practical ways to get started and get the work done. They include Oscar Cohen, Joseph Fischgrund, Carol Whalen, Ben Grant, Tom Colasuonno, and Adrianne Robins. Also very necessary to the project was the cooperation of a host of teachers and their assistants, including: Irene Calabrese, Kathy Geiger, Anita Goldberg, Marla Goldwert, Karen Kennedy, Gina Larizza, Fran Pollick, Michele Sansone, Joyce Scotti-Walter, Susan Teurfs, Paula Ventre, and Doris Wurgler. Irene, Susan and Paula also became informal colleagues who, in many long discussions of the research itself and of the education of the deaf, gave me many insights I would not have otherwise had. Other staff at Lexington whose cooperation was most valuable include Rosario Gould, Maria O'Neill, Maria Santiviago, and Dennis Wilbur.

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interest in the research, stimulated us and sharpened our own motivation to do a good job.

My colleagues at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, while not able to become intimately involved in this project, have helped me in innumerable ways over several years of association to develop my theoretical and analytic skills as ethnographer and anthropologist, and to enlarge my understanding of the history, culture and experience of the Puerto Rican community. My work on this project was thereby much enriched.

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I also profited from the site visits of and discussions with the three project consultants, Courtney Cazden, Carol Erting and Carol Padden. Each brought a unique perspective to our ongoing work that immeasurably broadened the scope of my own thinking. Similarly, my discussions with Gil Delgado were stimulating and helpful. None of these persons has any responsibility, of course, for the limitations of this report.

Finally, I wish to thank the Hispanic parents whose children were the subjects of this study. They must remain anonymous, but they were, almost without exception, most cooperative and forthcoming, always cordial and willing to talk to us, even to the extent of allowing us into their homes where they treated us as friends. Whether they realized it or not, they displayed much wisdom and understanding in communicating with their disabled children, and considerable intelligence in dealing with a complex, often hostile urban environment in their struggle to provide their children the best possible opportunities for their growth and development. As such, they deserve not only my thanks, but our general admiration.

xxx

CHAPTER I

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE INTAKE PROCESS

Introduction: Preview of Findings

Young Hispanic hearing impaired children encounter a vast, complex and powerful social system when starting out in school that can be very different from the social environment they are used to in their families, homes and communities. They may not immediately recognize that it is the expressed purpose of the school to socialize them in particular ways. Yet they generally learn rather quickly to "read" the social system that operates in the immediate environment of the classroom.

For some this means gaining an understanding of how to participate "appropriately" in a variety of classroom activities, which professional educators describe as ranging from highly "structured," to "openended." However, the particular understandings the children develop do not necessarily guarantee ready and willing participation on their part, or easy acceptance of them by peers and teachers. Some children may avoid or resist full participation; others may participate "appropriately" only intermittently. Others glean additional information from their environment, such as an awareness that all activities--structured or unstructured--are governed by certain significant adults. They may also draw the further inference that there are peer relationships that sometimes operate beyond or alongside the norms or rules

of "appropriate" classroom behavior. Sometimes children construct particular peer relationships when the teacher is not looking. These relationships can serve as an alternative social world for the children in the classroom that fits between the gaps, as it were, of official school discourse.

The Hispanic children in our study varied considerably in their response to schooling, although all of them seemed to learn rapidly about the social system of the classroom and therefore often changed their behavior considerably in the few months in which we observed them. Not surprisingly, responses of teachers and their peers to these children also varied considerably. On the part of peers we noticed a sometimes ambiguous mix of acceptance and rejection, cooperation and conflict, as the children worked out more or less stable relations with each other. Various struggles for power, control or recognition could readily be observed among them, and our Hispanic subjects developed quite a range of strategies to deal with these struggles which were already part of classroom life before they entered.

Responses of teachers varied as well, but only in certain respects. Teachers demonstrated differential abilities to take into account the children's social class and cultural membership. It was not uncommon for teachers to express puzzlement over the behavior of the Hispanic children, a puzzlement which was sometimes shared by parents and by the researchers as well. When "problems" arose, professionals would meet with parents to "resolve" them,

quite often with limited success and with many mutual misunderstandings remaining after the meeting.

It should be noted that what constitutes appropriate participation, and who determines what is appropriate in any given context cannot be taken as givens but rather are important questions for researchers and educators trying to understand how children react to the classroom and school environments.

The official school discourse is often called "worktime" by teachers, and generally has a set of explicit purposes or "educational objectives" that govern interactional activities. Some children may develop patterns of behavior that could be construed as resistance to the social system encountered in the school. That is, peer relationships are inserted directly into the official discourse of the classroom, interrupting it and altering it. Rarely will teachers or other professionals see these behaviors as resistance per se, that is as something directed at the social realities of the classroom as experienced by the children themselves. When teachers and professionals do interpret peer relationships as resistance, they will even more rarely understand this resistance as a rational response to an alien environment.

We are speaking here of children who are from three to eight years old and who are profoundly deaf. In most cases their linguistic abilities appear to be very limited, though it is often difficult to gauge these accurately. These

children all display a variety of social and communicative skills which are not always recognized as such by school staff, and which in fact may not be displayed in the presence of professionals.

Many professionals are sincerely concerned with constructing accurate assessments of the Hispanic deaf child's knowledge and skills, and with developing appropriate Individualized Educational Programs (IEPs) for each child as mandated by state and federal regulations. Yet these regulations themselves sometimes seem to stand in the way of those good intentions to provide deaf children with a good education, although surely this is not the intent of the law. Sensitive professional educators are very aware that, like Hispanic children in general, Hispanic deaf children do not generally do well in school, and are often tracked into "vocational" and similar programs that many--including the children themselves--see, rightly or wrongly, as dead ends.

The parents of these children are often themselves bewildered by their initial encounters with the institutions of formal schooling. They cannot always give the support that middle class Anglo parents can to their children's schooling. By this we do not mean that they cannot help their children with their homework, although this is sometimes a problem (quite frequently mentioned by the professionals we interviewed). Rather, we mean something more fundamental that has to do with certain relationships between schools and Hispanic parents that influence the

decision-making processes which affect their children as they progress through the initial stages of schooling and beyond.

Although both state and federal regulations mandate parent participation in decision-making, the regulations do not spell out what constitutes "participation" (Carpenter 1983; NCLD 1984). In any case, with rare exceptions, parents of young deaf Hispanic children generally have only a very minimal level of participation in decision-making processes, such as the evaluation and assessment of their child's knowledge, skills and needs, or the designing of appropriate educational programs for the child.

Moreover, professionals tend to assume that all the expertise is on their side, or at least to present themselves to the parents in this way. They go so far as to advise parents what language to use with their child at home and how to discipline and socialize the child at home in ways that will conform to the needs of the school. Professionals tend to justify this approach by noting that parents are unaware of the "implications of deafness." Hispanic parents have, as a group, very mixed reactions to this form of professionalism. Some secretly reject it, seeing it as an imposition on their private lives. Some waver between acceptance and belief on the one hand, and doubt and confusion on the other. Almost all of them keep their doubts and criticisms well hidden from school staff, though they willingly share these with other parents. Very few parents will argue with professionals, and in any case, only a few

have the knowledge and communicative styles which would make effective argument possible. It is safe to say that, in general, Hispanic parents are not comfortable in the school setting.

Where Hispanic deaf children and their parents encounter problems in the school environment, the causes are rarely simply linguistic, even where the parents themselves speak no English. Rather, the causes seem to be a complex mix of ethnic, cultural and social class factors that penetrate both social worlds of school and home, and that individual members of these social worlds have little direct control over. The schools are staffed largely by middle class, white professionals, while most of the Hispanic parents are at best working class or only marginal members of the labor force with low and insecure incomes, and little formal education. In many cases these Hispanic parents live a cultural life that has strong traditional communal and personalistic bases which the white professionals are quite unaware of, and which they may not find in their own private lives as members of small, relatively isolated nuclear families.

But it would be misleading to attribute the problems which crop up in these encounters between two different cultural groups as simply the result of unintentional misunderstandings caused by cultural and communicative differences. Such differences are an important factor, but they cannot fully explain the conflicts and problematic outcomes of the encounters between schools and Hispanic

families. An extremely important variable, at least from the expressed point of view of those families themselves, is power. Hispanic parents are not in awe of the expertise of professional educators in general, but they have a strong awareness of the power that professionals--as representatives of powerful institutions--can wield. In fact they may have a rather inflated view of the power of school staff.

Professional educators working in special education programs often find themselves caught in contradictory situations which can make it difficult for them to provide adequate services to Hispanic children and their families. Not all anthropologists would agree to the application of the word "culture" to the social settings one finds in schools (Gumperz 1982a; cf. Spindler 1982), but there seems little doubt from the preliminary findings of our research that schools nevertheless are powerful social systems in which certain ideas, values, understandings and ways of doing things are prevalent and influence the thoughts and actions of all who work in them. Partly because schools and programs for "special" populations--such as schools for the deaf--are very much under the public eye, there is much concern among school staff, especially administrators, to produce and maintain a favorable public image. We found that this tendency sometimes ran directly counter to the same professionals' sincere attempts to serve Hispanic parents and their hearing impaired children.

The Intake Process: Scope of the Project

We offer these remarks as a brief and general survey of the findings of a two-year intensive ethnographic field study of the social and cultural processes involved in very young Hispanic deaf children's initial experiences of schooling. We used ethnographic case-study methods to examine: the decision-making processes involved in assessment, placement and programming for these children; the interactions of parents and school professionals during this process; and the experience of the young child as he/she was incorporated into formal schooling. We refer to this process as the "Intake Process" throughout this report.

The Intake Process includes formal assessments of the child's needs and abilities, as well as placement in an educational program and the formal writing of an "Individualized Educational Program (IEP) for the child. It also includes, especially for the very young children whom we studied, considerable involvement of parents in the process. In New York State this process includes not only an initial assessment by a team of professionals, and a formal meeting between these professionals and the parent(s), but it also includes a period of thirty days of classroom time during which teachers finalize the child's IEP which will apply to the year of schooling that follows the end of that thirty day period. Also included are several formal communications between parents and the State Education Department (SED) and between school staff and the SED. The entire process is

governed by both federal and state law, and, in the ordinary course of events, may actually take two, three, or even more months to complete. It was this transition period from initial assessments to the end of the official thirty-day classroom period that we took as the temporal framework of each of the case studies we conducted.

The children ranged in age from three to eight years old. Some of them entered a large, well-established private school for the deaf, while others were entering programs in the New York City schools. In the private school setting, we closely monitored the progress of seven children from their initial assessments by trained professionals to their placement in a school program, including their initial thirty days in the classroom, and the parent-teacher conference regarding the child's needs and planned educational program at the end of that period. Where possible, we continued to maintain contact with parents and to monitor periodically the children's progress throughout the course of the two-year project. In addition, we also observed the testing and placement of two other children in the private school. In the public school setting we monitored the assessments of four children, including the conferences between parent and assessment staff for three of the children. Because of unavoidable delays, however, we have not yet monitored these children's initial thirty days in classrooms.

We monitored the professionals' treatment of each case, and closely followed both the children and their parents'

encounters with professional staff in an attempt to capture the experience and understanding of all participants in these encounters. We conducted in-depth, informal and formal interviews with professional staff, as well as observing them in the ordinary course of their professional activities. We reviewed the intake records of each of our case study children, as well as a larger sample of intake records of Hispanic children of all ages in the private school.

We also observed the case study children in their homes in order to get a view of what they were like outside the school setting. In addition we gathered a considerable amount of information on the histories and life-styles of the families through extensive interviews with parents in order to get a better picture of how their past experience and present social position influenced their encounters with schools.

Additional components of our study included the production of an annotated bibliography of relevant research (Appendix C), and a national survey of local education agencies serving Hispanic hearing-impaired children regarding their assessment and placement procedures for those children (Appendix B).

To a large extent, our methods were based on developments in two decades of research in the sociolinguistics of human communication and the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1974; Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Gumperz 1982a, 1982b). Our theoretical

perspective was informed by a broad range of social and cultural theory (Dimen-Schein 1977; Foucault 1980; Wolf 1982; Mills 1959; Merton 1949; Smith, et al 1985), as well as by philosophical theories of language meaning and use (Wittgenstein 1958; Ricoeur 1981). It was these methodologies and theories which provided perspective on our close observations (including audio and videotaping), and which led to the kinds of generalizations exemplified above.

The purpose of this report is to present a summary of our findings and to sketch in the most immediately relevant aspects of our research methodology and theory. Most of the two years of the project were spent in gathering the data and performing the preliminary analyses necessary to guide the process of data gathering as the project developed, which is an accepted methodological convention of ethnographic procedures (Malinowski 1922; Spindler 1982; Agar 1983). We plan more detailed analyses of the data in the future, which will enable us to produce a more extensive report in the form of a monograph, in addition to articles for various academic journals, presentations at scholarly conferences, and the development of training materials for parents and professionals. A more detailed discussion of plans for further analysis and dissemination is provided in Appendix A.

Educational Needs of the Hispanic Hearing-Impaired Child: Defining a Research Problem

There are many indications that the Hispanic child is

very much "at risk" with regard to educational achievement in the United States. A number of studies have documented significantly lower levels of achievement for non-handicapped Hispanic children in school. Other studies indicate that at least certain handicapped groups, though not members of racial or ethnic minorities--such as the deaf and hearing-impaired--also do not do well in school. Few studies have been conducted of the academic achievement Hispanic hearing-impaired child, but those that exist indicate they are even less well off than either their hearing-impaired non-Hispanic peers, or their normal hearing Hispanic peers. As Erickson (1979) puts it, there are reasons to believe that

> children with mental, physical, or sensory deficits who are also members of a minority racial/ethnic group in the United States suffer more than one handicap. They are different among the different, a minority within a minority.

The implication of Erickson's suggestion is that the reasons certain groups--the deaf, the ethnic minority--do not do as well in school as their non-deaf, non-minority peers are social, and not the result of psychological, cognitive, or physical "deficits." That is, the academic "failure" of these groups is a historical outcome of interactions between these groups and the rest of society. As far as academic achievement is concerned, failure is produced through an

interaction between the minority subgroup and the social institutions responsible for education--the schools and the institutions to which they are linked. From this perspective, the failure is not attributable to any one source: i.e., the schools, the minority subgroup, the individual, or "society." Rather, its sources must be sought in the links between these, in their interactions over time.

These thoughts provided the background of a working relationship which developed over time between the T.R.E.E. Division of The Lexington Center, Inc. and the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College. Research staff from The Lexington Center first contacted researchers at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies in 1982. A number of meetings were held which also included researchers from other institutions with experience in research on the deaf. The Lexington Center staff had extensive experience in research in deaf education, and had conducted seminal, and unique, studies of the needs of the Hispanic hearing-impaired child (Lerman 1984). The staff at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies had considerable experience in ethnographic methodology, particularly as applied from a sociolinguistic and anthropological perspective (LPTF 1982; LPTF 1984). Both sides agreed that such a perspective might help to shed new light on the educational problems and conditions encountered by the Hispanic hearing-impaired child and his/her family as they sought educational services.

One of the outcomes of these meetings was a proposal for

an ethnographic study of the social and cultural processes involved in the assessment, placement and educational programming of Hispanic hearing-impaired children in the New York City area. This proposal became the basis for the study to be reported on here. It is worth reviewing briefly here some of the considerations regarding the educational needs of Hispanic children--both normal hearing and hearing-impaired--which motivated our discussions and which provided a framework for defining a set of specific research questions which might be effectively addressed through ethnographic methods from an anthropological and sociolinguistic perspective.

Several factors indicate that the general living conditions of Hispanics in New York State compare unfavorably with those of the general population. That is, Hispanics, particularly Puerto Ricans, suffer from overcrowding in urban areas, isolation within rundown neighborhoods, low income, high unemployment, unequal access to education and jobs, etc. As the 1985 report of the Governor's Advisory Committee for Hispanic Affairs (GACHA) notes,

> Puerto Ricans display high levels of residential segregation, comparable only to Blacks. Thus, as a group, Puerto Ricans are generally found in the residentially isolated sections of central cities, such as the South Bronx, areas of generally shrinking opportunities for employment.

The Governer's report also notes that "in 1979 the median Hispanic family income ($11,263) was less than 56% of the median for all New York State families ($20,180), yet they tended to have larger families to support. Extremely high numbers of Hispanics live in poverty, as compared to the general population of New York State (v. Fig. 1).

POVERTY STATUS BY AGE, SEX, AND TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD. 1979
NYS TOTAL POPULATION AND HISPANIC POPULATION

	Total Population	Percent	Hispanic Population	Percent
Total below poverty level	2,298,922	13.4	540,909	33.1
Persons under 16 below poverty level	794,890	19.9	236,328	45.5
Persons 65 years and over below poverty level	235,830	11.6	17,626	25.1
Persons in families with female householder (no husband present) below poverty level	924,046	38.0	302,370	62.5

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1983 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Detailed Population Characteristics: NY, (Washington, D.C. USGPO, 1983), Section 2, pp. 1444, 1454, Table 245.

Figure 1

It should be noted that these figures mask to some extent the actual economic conditions under which Hispanics, particularly Puerto Ricans, live in New York. A 1985 report by the Association of Puerto Rican Executive Directors (APRED) notes that, based on 1978 census figures,

> Spanish origin families maintained by a man had a higher median income, $11,800, than did those families with women as heads of household--$5,100. Thus, with the increase in broken homes and single parent households, we are continuously hearing of the feminization of poverty. This is especially noteworthy for the Puerto Rican community since in the City as a whole, 26 percent of all families have a female family householder with no spouse, but it is 44 percent for Puerto Ricans.

As the 1985 Governor's report cited above notes, "the generally lower income of Hispanics can be explained, in part, by their relatively poor employment situation." The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported an official unemployment rate of 19.5 percent for Puerto Ricans in 1982. Moreover, those Hispanics who have jobs in New York State, and in the Northeast generally, tend to be employed in low-

status, low-income positions (v. Fig. 2).

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER: 1980
NYS TOTAL POPULATION AND HISPANIC POPULATION
(In percentages)

	Total Population		Hispanic Population		% Difference	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total	4,198,030	3,242,738	325,589	233,721		
Managerial and Professional	27.3	23.6	13.5	12.0	-13.8	-11.6
Technical, Sales and Administrative	22.3	48.1	21.0	38.8	- 1.3	- 9.3
Service	12.2	16.0	21.5	16.7	+ 9.3	+ .7
Precision Production, Craft and Repair	17.1	1.8	15.5	3.9	- 1.6	+ 2.1
Operators, Fabricators and Laborers	19.2	10.1	27.7	28.5	+ 8.5	+18.4
Farming, Forestry and Fishing	1.9	.4	.8	.1	- 1.1	- .3

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, Detailed Population Characteristics: New York, pp. 516-531, Table 220 (Washington D.C.: USGPO, 1982).

Figure 2

And, again according to the 1985 report of APRED:

> The National Puerto Rican Forum found that 70.6 percent of Puerto Rican males were employed in low income occupations as contrasted to 31.4 percent of the White males. Puerto Rican female workers were 78.2 percent in low status occupations as compared with 26.8 percent of White females.

The report of the Governor's commission notes that Hispanics "are penalized by discrimination in the labor market" as well:

> In essence, Hispanics are disproportionately concentrated in the peripheral labor market, a source of employment characterized by low wages, limited opportunities for advancement, lower return to education, and lack of unionization. These are the dead-end jobs which other segments of the working population are not likely to seek.

Educational achievement statistics for Hispanics in the United States, particularly those living in the Northeast

corridor and/or New York State, are just as discouraging as income and employment figures. The Governor's report notes that "Hispanic enrollment [in school] is substantially lower than that of the general population, and rates of school completion are also comparatively lower." The American Council on Education found that the dropout rate for Hispanics in the United States in 1981 was 36 percent compared to 16 percent for Whites and 19 percent for blacks (APRED 1985). A 1983 report by ASPIRA of New York found that for Hispanic students--representing 31 percent of the total student body--the dropout rate between 9th and 12th grade was 80 percent, as compared to 72 percent for Blacks and 50 percent for Whites. The number of Hispanics going on to higher education also appears to be declining. In 1980 Hispanics received only 2.3 percent of all bachelor degrees awarded.

As the APRED report of 1985 notes, current educational trends, particularly as evidenced by funding from governmental and private agencies, do not appear to offer hope that the above income, employment, and educational statistics will change radically for Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics:

> At a time when education and training funds have been severely curtailed, we continue to require extensive education and training in new technological careers. However, even when funding was more readily available it

was never sufficiently targeted to Puerto Ricans and often lacked cultural relevancy. Training monies are now coming heavily under private sector control. This will probably mean increased "creaming," i.e., the training of those with the most discernible work related abilities and English fluency, leaving those perhaps in greatest need unserved.

What are we to make of this prognosis for Hispanics in general when we look at the Hispanic handicapped, such as the Hispanic hearing-impaired children who were the subject of our study? Consider first some comparative figures for deaf and normal hearing populations in the United States. There are a number of indications that the deaf operate at a disadvantage academically, economically and socially in the United States.

A study published in 1974 indicated that median income of deaf families "is 84 percent as much as the United States average." Furthermore, "nonwhite deaf males head households whose median income is 74 percent of that for nonwhite male heads in general" (Schein and Delk 1974). Although, as Schein and Delk also note, "deaf persons tend to live in average to above-average neighborhoods," this does not apply to nonwhite deaf families: "less than 30 percent of households headed by a nonwhite deaf male are in average or better neighborhoods," and less than 25 percent of nonwhite deaf families headed by a female deaf person live in such

neighborhoods.

As Erting (1982) notes, "when deaf children enter school, sometimes as early as at a few months of age, they participate in an educational system which has failed and continues to fail to meet their educational needs." A national survey conducted by the Office of Demographic Studies at Gallaudet college found that the highest scores achieved by any age group on a subtest of reading comprehension was a grade level of 4.4, and on the subtest of arithmetic computation was grade 6.7 (Gentile and DiFrancesca 1969). These students were nineteen years old.

Limited information has been available on the academic achievement of Hispanic deaf children, but those few studies that have been done indicate that the deaf Hispanic child is experiencing significant academic difficulties. Utilizing the 1973 Stanford Achievement Test, Special Edition for Hearing Impaired Students (SAT-HI), the Office of Demographic Studies established that Hispanic deaf students have lower achievement levels than white deaf students, and, in vocabulary and reading comprehension in English, lower levels than the other minority groups surveyed (Jensema 1975).

A 1977 study of Hispanic children in schools for the deaf in the New York City area found that a disproportionate number of these students were placed in low achieving or learning disabled groups. Forty percent of the Hispanic families of deaf children were on welfare, 83 percent were classified as on the poverty level, slightly less than half

were female-headed households, and the median educational level of the adults was sixth grade (Lerman and Cortez 1977). In a recent article, Lerman (1984) summarized the issues confronting schools serving this population:

> Differences in language, cultural background and socioeconomic level help create barriers to participation in the educational system for the Hispanic deaf student. The system must do its part in adapting to these differences. Changes in instructional activities and in home-school relationships may be required. Reviews of culturally and linguistically sensitive areas such as intake procedures, language assessment, and instruction and curriculum content must be conducted to determine their relevance for Hispanic students.

Another national survey, the Gallaudet Survey of Hearing-Impaired Children from Non-Native Language Homes was conducted during the 1979-1980 year. Again, this survey seems to indicate that minority hearing-impaired children are at a disadvantage as compared with their white hearing-impaired peers. Delgado (1984) points out that

> respondents often were not certain of the language spoken in the home, due to lack of communication with the parents. For example, one school--located in one of the most heavily Hispanic-populated states in the

country--reported that it knew only two students from Spanish-speaking homes.

Many of these homes use two languages interchangeably, English and Spanish, yet, as Delgado notes, "only one program reported using a language other than English in the classroom."

The 1979-1980 Gallaudet survey also found that 51 percent of the hearing-impaired children from non-English-speaking (NES) homes were classified as having additional handicaps, while only 29 percent of hearing-impaired children generally are reported as having additional handicaps. Delgado comments:

> One suspects that the level of additional handicaps among children from NES homes is inflated by assessment personnel and procedures that are not fully sensitive to non-native language and culture. Insensitivity to these factors can lead to incorrect diagnosis, incorrect educational placement, and faulty teaching strategies used with children from NES homes.

The 1979-1980 Gallaudet survey also found that 65 percent of the school programs surveyed indicated that NES hearing-impaired children were performing at a lower level than their classmates.

Limited as these studies may be, they yet provide a

strong indication of the correctness of Erickson's comment noted above, that the Hispanic hearing-impaired child is a minority within a minority. That is, he/she is likely to experience the academic and socioeconomic disadvantages of two disadvantaged groups: the Hispanic minority and the deaf minority.

As Delgado notes, the population of hearing-impaired children from NES homes is increasing, yet few instructional programs exist aimed at meeting the special needs of this population. Delgado points out that there is a need for extensive research, training programs, and curriculum-development projects to serve this population. "Yet we have virtually no research--and few plans to do research--on the most appropriate way or ways to educate these children" (Delgado 1984).

From these remarks it can be determined that several avenues to research regarding the educational needs of Hispanic hearing-impaired children and their families might be explored. The concern of our project has from the beginning to explore ways in which the most crucial relationships between Hispanic deaf children and families on the one hand, and schools on the other, might best be examined. While studies of educational and socioeconomic outcomes such as those cited above are useful in pointing to the existence of a problem, the methods of those studies may not be particularly useful in helping us gain an understanding of how such outcomes--such as disparities between Hispanic

hearing-impaired and nonminority families and children--are produced. Clearly, unless one subscribes to a belief that Hispanics and/or the deaf are somehow cognitively inferior from birth, these disparities must be socially produced. That is, they are historical outcomes of social processes, of interactions between the various social groups in question. One obvious, but not necessarily the only, place to look at the social sources of disparities in academic achievement and access to education, is in the relationships between the institutions that are responsible for providing that education and the various groups they purport to serve.

Even this framework is quite broad. Working within such a framework, it would be possible to produce a wide variety of types of research into social process. A large number of sociological and anthropological studies of schools and education provide models for several kinds of approaches. We chose to focus on the intake process for a number of reasons, recognizing that there would be both benefits and limitations of such a focus. In the next section of this chapter we discuss our view of the importance of the intake process, the theoretical perspective we used in approaching the study of that process, and the application of ethnographic methods in that study.

An Ethnographic Approach to the Intake Process

In this section we offer a brief overview of the rationale behind our ethnographic methodology and its

application to the study of the intake process. In Chapter II we provide a detailed description of our methodology and the nature of the data we collected over the two year period of the study, as well as a preliminary characterization of our methods of analysis of that data.

The purpose of this project was to gain a comprehensive understanding of the social and cultural processes involved when young deaf Hispanic children enter educational institutions. We were particularly concerned with the early stages of the Hispanic deaf child's education, during which time the institution makes assessments of the child's educational needs and capabilities, places the child in a particular instructional setting, and develops an Individualized Educational Program (IEP) for the child.

The intake process can be considered a "natural laboratory" for the study of the social, cultural and institutional constraints which govern the child's transition from nonparticipant to participant in the daily social life of the school. In anthropological terms, the intake constitutes a "liminal experience" for the child. That is, it is a set of socially organized events in which the individual makes a major transition in social status, role, and identity, with changed relationships to other members of the social group, and changed understandings of these relationships (Turner 1969, 1974).

The actual outcomes of the child's passage through the intake process, in terms of the resulting educational

treatment of the child, are negotiated by participants through a variety of formal and informal interactional situations. These negotiations are constrained, however, by the culturally-based understanding participants bring to particular interactions, as well as by the organizational structure of the institution, including the state and federal regulations which provide legal guidelines for intakes and educational treatments of hearing impaired children. The primary goal of our research has been to document the influence of these negotiations and constraints on the educational treatment of the child and on the child's experience of and response to initiation into the social world of the school and classroom.

Our focus on the social and cultural dimensions of this "liminal" experience of the very young Hispanic deaf child (ages 3-8) has particular implications for developing optimal educational treatment for this population, as well as for other Hispanic deaf children, and possibly for normal hearing Hispanic children as well. We hope our findings will provide both professionals and parents with basic information which will help them develop better understandings of the social, cultural and institutional constraints governing their interactions with each other, and of how those interactions influence their perception of and relationship to the child.

This research can thereby provide a basis for improving educational treatment of the child, and can help prevent alienation of the child from school through unintentional

rejection of the cultural bases of the home and community environment. Our focus is on the key person--the child--who crosses the "borders" between these environments on a daily basis, because we believe this is the most direct way to reveal the relevant and most crucial issues of the interface between home/community and school, whether these involve potential for conflict or for cooperation.

We view the intake as a social process consisting of a series of social-interactional events by means of which participants construct a particular social environment within which the actual educational experience of the child will develop. By "social environment" we mean to include the social expectations that participants develop with respect to each other and to the child; the cognitive, social, cultural and personality characteristics that are attributed as "properties" of the child (v. Mehan 1983 for disc.); and the social-interactional roles that are made available for the child to take up in various interactional situations in both home and school settings.

Participants often find themselves in situations which have to some extent been "prestructured" for them by various means, such as organizational structures, procedures and sanctions, and traditional practices maintained by other members of the group. All of these factors may "constrain" the nature of the interaction, providing guidelines for interpretations of communicative behavior, setting limits of various kinds to purposes, activities, outcomes, etc.

Moreover, not all members come to a particular social activity, such as the intake process, with the same knowledge, understandings, purposes, intents, or goals. These variables are themselves constrained by prior social experience; That is, they are culturally constrained.

In order to document members' negotiations of their social relations, and make them available for cultural analysis, they must be observed and recorded in some detail. The ethnographic procedures which have been developed in the social sciences--particularly anthropology and sociology--provide a basis for documentation. Ethnography is essentially a process of the systematic accumulation of a variety of kinds of information regarding the ways in which participants construct their social relations. It is therefore useful to observe participants in a variety of interactional situations; to gather information through examination of pertinent artifacts, including written records; to examine institutional structures, both in their formalized, "objective" forms, and in their actual workings on a day-to-day basis; and to elicit the views and understandings of participants themselves.

Collection of these various types of information makes possible an interpretation of the social environment which can be tested against members' own understandings, but which can also go beyond any one members' understanding to a description of interactional processes, and their social constraints. In so doing, a comprehensive analysis,

encompassing a whole range of observations and documentations, can be developed, and made available to participants themselves.

As regards the intake process, no one participant--whether, parents, child, or school staff--has direct access to the broad perspective that our ethnography is developing. Furthermore, the communicative behaviors which members use to construct their social environment and their relations to each other within that environment, are on the whole below the level of normal awareness. Particularly in situations of culture contact, it is difficult for members to gauge the effect of their communications on participants from a different cultural group. Using the methods developed in the anthropological field of the ethnography of communication, we have been able to document the specific communicative behaviors of participants in the intake process, and describe their implications both for the developing social relations of school staff, family and child, and for the educational treatment of the child.

Contents of This Report

In the rest of this report we will devote chapters to the topics listed below. It is not our intention at this time to provide a complete and comprehensive analysis of the data collected. We reserve this task to the book-length monograph, presentations and planned articles mentioned above and in Appendix A. However, in this report we will attempt

to summarize our findings and analyses to date, and will also offer some concluding observations and recommendations regarding the intake process itself.

Chapter II will describe our data collection methods, the nature of the data collected, and our methods for preliminary analysis of this data.

Chapter III will focus on legal guidelines and policy issues as they relate most directly to the intake process and to the findings of our ethnographic investigation.

Chapter IV will provide a characterization of schools and educational programs for the Hispanic hearing-impaired in terms of their social organization and cultural values.

Chapter V will discuss the Hispanic families who became the subjects of our case studies. We will provide information regarding their socioeconomic status, educational levels, cultural values, family structures, and general understanding of institutions, particularly schools, in the United States. The reader will notice that we stress the fact that, although many of the families share certain features of status, income, outlook, and experience, they also exhibited a considerable variability in their dealings with school staff. It would not do to simply list a set of "characteristics" or "features" of Hispanic families and then teach these to professional staff. The relationships between the families and schools was much more complex than that.

Chapter VI will examine those relationships, providing some examples of how the families related to school staff in

key situations, such as MDTs and parent-teacher IEP conferences. We will also explore the relationships between the case study children and the school environment, including their response to testing and to classroom life. We will follow in detail one of our case study children through the entire intake process, from his initial appearance at the "private" school through the 30 day classroom period, including the parent/teacher conference on the Phase-2 IEP. We will then compare this case study with others. In this way we will illustrate the kind of careful documentation of sociocultural processes ethnographic monitoring provides, as well as the unique kinds of information that can be retrieved from such monitoring.

Chapter VII will summarize our findings and provide some specific recommendations, both for improving the intake process and for further research.

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Chapter II

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

Introduction

In this chapter we describe the methods we used in defining research issues, collecting data, and conducting preliminary analyses. We will also describe the nature of the data collected in some detail. It is our intention to furnish information in this chapter to researchers interested in replicating our study, or in conducting similar studies for comparative purposes.

It should be noted from the outset that ethnographers have become increasingly aware that the collection and analysis (or interpretation) of data are not entirely separate phenomena. The collection of data through observation and participation in the everyday activities of people presupposes some sort of point of view or perspective which guides what is observed, noted and recorded (Agar 1980; Ricoeur 1981; Rabinow and Sullivan 1979).

At the very least, in observing human social behavior, one is always dealing with "meaningful" events and actions, especially as expressed through one or more languages. Just as ordinary participants in social interaction make judgments, interpret each others' messages, and select among various options for communicating further messages, so too do ethnographers. These judgments, interpretations and choices are based on participants' prior knowledge--much of which consists of deeply ingrained cultural understandings--

as well as on what they learn as the interaction proceeds. In a very general sense, it is the ethnographer's purpose to make these cultural understandings explicit, and to relate these both to the social actions people perform in their interactions with each other and to the institutions within which they operate.

In our ethnography of the transitions young Hispanic hearing impaired children went through in their introduction to schooling, and of the interactions between all the participants, we could not become a parent, a deaf child, a psychologist, a supervisor, a teacher. Nor was it our goal to do so. Rather, our goal was to understand the interactions between these participants as thoroughly, and as helpfully, as possibly. Understanding in this sense meant multiple tasks.

In the first place this meant attempting to get as full and accurate as possible a picture of the point of view of all the participants themselves of what they were doing, of how their interactions went, of their interpretations of each others' behavior, of their sense of the implications of their interactions. But beyond this, the ethnographer needs to make comparisons between the different points of view of participants, to relate these multiple perspectives to observed interactions, to the analysis of social structures and institutions, and to the histories of individuals, groups and the institutions within which they operate (Wolf 1982; Bennett and Pedraza 1982; Comaroff 1985).

Most ethnographers would consider their primary task to "capture" the members' point of view by characterizing the knowledge systems that underlie human social behavior (Frake 1969). Certainly no ethnography would be of much worth that neglected the views of those people placed under the lens of social science. Nor should it be considered a simple matter to capture that point of view, since all sorts of intentions, misunderstandings, limited perspectives, deliberate misleadings, etc. can intervene between the individual or group point of view and the recording of that point of view. Hence, some ethnographers have placed particular emphasis on devising a variety of methods which will ensure accuracy in characterizing the perspective of the observed participants themselves. These techniques can include observation of participants in different contexts; comparison with the research of others; elicitation of the evaluation of informants; the use of a variety of modes of elicitation and data collection; the examination of the data from differing theoretical perspectives, etc.

However, as Crapanzano (1980) notes, the application of these strategies does not ensure objectivity, but only represents a particular way of making sense of human behavior. Ethnography should be thought of as a dynamic encounter between the researcher and the "others" whom he/she is studying (in some cases the researcher may also become an object of study!):

> The ethnographic encounter, like any encounter between individuals. . .is always a complex negotiation in which the parties to the encounter acquiesce to a certain reality. This "reality" belongs. . .to none of the parties to the encounter (Crapanzano 1980, p. ix).

It is not only ethnographers who are caught in this dilemma of how to do justice to human social behavior, however. Those who profess the more "objective" methods of experimental models, formal surveys questionnaires, etc. which yield quantifiable variables and correlations of variables, are caught in the same bind. The selection of variables, the framing of questions, the interpretation of the results are all based on value judgments and interpretations, the grounds of which are seldom made explicit by the investigators themselves. Ethnographers, however, in participating, even as passive observers, in the daily life activities of their subjects, need to engage in a constant process of moving back and forth between their observations and their developing interpretations of what they have observed. This process is necessarily guided by the research questions asked, but it is wise to expect that those questions will be changed in the course of the ethnographic encounter itself (Wolcott 1982).

It seems that any attempt at understanding human social behavior, if it is to claim scientific status, requires making explicit not only the "results" of some experimental procedure or survey or statistical operation, but also the framework or perspective out of which research questions are formulated, particular value judgments are made, and

interpretations are produced. To do so requires not only some sense of detachment from the "subjects" of the investigation, but from one's own procedures as well. A good ethnographer, at least, should be required to make as explicit the interpretational rules and principles by which he/she is operating.

Ethnography itself is at least partially a process of discovering what these rules and principles are in the course of collecting and reflecting on the data. Further reflection on the data collected and on the analyses already performed usually brings to light--or should do so--the interpretational rules and principles both the investigator and his/her subjects operated with during the course of data collection, as well as the interaction between these.

Ethnography is also a process in the sense that the investigator should be learning from his data as he/she collects it, and should allow what is learned to influence the collection of further data and the reformulation of original research questions. It is the goal of this chapter to make a beginning in this process of reflection. The following chapters, which report in summary form some of our reflections on the data itself, should extend this process, as will the work we plan to do in future analyses and reports (Appendix A).

Framing The Issues

The kinds of data to be collected and the methods to be applied in collecting it are constrained by the kinds of questions one begins with. As one begins to collect data which will hopefully shed light on the questions being asked, one might learn that the questions themselves need to be reformulated. This was certainly our experience in the course of our two-year study.

As noted in Chapter I, we began with a concern with the "failure" rate in school of Hispanic children in general and of Hispanic hearing impaired children in particular. We recognized that little or no research had been conducted in an effort to explain the failure rate of the latter group of children, although some research had been conducted in various parts of the United States in attempts to deal with the failure rate of Hispanic nonhandicapped children. Most of this latter research was psychological or linguistic in its emphasis, and little attention had been given to the social, cultural dimensions of the issue. There was, however, a growing body of anthropological and sociological research on the encounter between various minority groups and formal educational systems in the U.S. (eg., Heath 1983; Ogbu 1978; Erickson and Schultz 1982). These studies all had a strong ethnographic bent and had demonstrated how much could be learned through ethnography about the actual social processes whereby the school failure of certain groups of children was produced.

In turning our attention to the success/failure rate of Hispanic hearing impaired children, we looked for specific areas of interest to focus our limited resources on. There were a number of possibilities, including such things as the acquisition of literacy and other skills at various grade levels, the relationships between the school environment and home and community environments, etc. We could also have focussed on various age groups, from preschool through secondary school and perhaps beyond. Since we had to make a choice, we chose to focus on very young Hispanic hearing impaired children in the hope that we would be able to monitor the early formative influences of schooling on their educational development.

Again with limited resources, we decided we would have to focus on only particular aspects of the early school experience of these children. We felt that we would be most likely to learn faster if we monitored closely the initial experience of these children with schooling. Because the "intake process" is formally defined by the institutions themselves, including strict federal and state legal guidelines, we judged that attention to that process would reveal important information about how institutions create specific social environments for the entering children, environments in which formal written judgments, as well as informal unwritten impressions, would be made about the children by professionals, with possible consequences for the educational development of the children themselves.

As we continued to think about the possible ramifications of an ethnographic monitoring of the intake process, we began to realize it might also provide a sort of field laboratory setting in which to explore the relationships between the Hispanic families and their communities to educational institutions like schools and the state and federal bodies which regulate them. Again, although a number of studies exist which show, through the statistical correlation such variables as parents' income and level of education with the child's performance on various sorts of tests, that the relationship between home and school is of importance, few direct studies of this relationship as it actually develops among real people from day to day exist. Although the actual intake process may be limited to a few weeks or months, the study of parent-school relationships as they actually developed in this crucial time might provide valuable information to both parents and professionals, as well as guide future, more comprehensive studies of these relationships over longer stretches of time.

Thus, from an interest in a very broad set of questions having to do with why Hispanic children "fail" (according to the standards of schools and other institutions in the U.S.--not necessarily according to themselves) in school, we were able to move to a more limited focus on the early stages of the Hispanic hearing impaired child's initiation into schooling. This more limited focus which would make a short, concentrated study possible which would nevertheless

have ramifications for the larger issues we were originally concerned with.

Another way in which we sharpened our focus on these issues was to decide on a case study approach in which we would follow a limited number of children in the process of their initiation to schooling. With only two researchers, a principal investigator and a research assistant, to collect, organize and analyze the data, we knew we would not be able to deal with large groups of individuals. We also felt that the intensive focus on a limited set of cases would prove more valuable in this instance than a more superficial survey--such as that provided by formal questionnaire--since it was the actual process of interaction between persons (rather than variables) which most interested us. A thorough understanding of even a few specific cases would, we believed, yield considerable insight into the social and cultural dimensions of the Hispanic hearing impaired child's initiation into schooling.

However, to avoid too narrow a focus which might limit the implications of our study for other settings, we decided to investigate the intake process in two educational settings rather than one: a large private (but state-supported) school for the deaf, and the public school setting of a large northeastern city. This would provide a basis for comparison whereby findings in one setting could be checked against those in the other. As it turned out, however, we were not able to investigate the public school

setting as closely as the private school setting. We still have plans to continue monitoring some cases in the public school setting beyond the final year of the project (Appendix A).

There were two problems in general which restricted our study of the public school setting. The first is that, as we proceeded through the first year in the private school setting, we found that we would need to use some of the second year to complete our case studies there. Since we were monitoring real, rather than simulated, cases of individuals going through the intake process, we simply had to wait until those individuals arrived at the school to be processed. At the end of the first year we made the decision to continue following the uncompleted cases in the private school setting into the second year of the project. This would enable us to capitalize on the rather comprehensive information about the school we had already gathered, as well as the cordial relations we had developed with the staff. It would also enable us to apply our reformulated questions--reformulated on the basis of the first three cases monitored in the private school--to further cases in the same setting.

The second problem had to do with the relative slowness of getting access to the public school system in the city. Although personnel in the city system were always cooperative, several unavoidable delays occurred, with the result that we were not able to follow any of the public

school children into the classroom itself before the second project year ended (v. below, "Description of Data Base" for a more detailed discussion of the data collected in each setting).

When we first wrote the proposal, we concerned ourselves primarily with the formal testing and evaluation procedures the child undergoes in the intake. In New York State these are explicitly defined, at least to some extent, by state regulations which have the force of law (Part 200 of the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education), which in turn are designed to conform to and elaborate upon the Federal Regulations embodied in PL 94-142. These regulations specify the types of assessments which must be made of each handicapped child; the professional personnel who are to be involved; the formal paperwork which must be filled out and submitted; the timelines for conducting evaluations, making reports, placing the child in a program; and the involvement of parents or guardians in the process. As such, the regulations themselves provided a framework for the collection of our data, including the settings we would focus attention on and the time span during which we would follow each child (v. Figure 2).

Our concern with social and cultural processes did not change throughout the course of the two-year project. From the beginning, even with our concern with testing and evaluation, we conceived of these as social processes rather than as the measurements of performance which professional

testers considered them. That is, our primary concern was not with the validity and reliability of these tests and procedures, as these terms are used by test specialists and experimental psychologists, but with the role of testing itself in the entire social process of assigning the children to certain defining categories, whether these were formalized in some way through numerical scores or written reports, or were left on a more informal, "impressionistic" level by the participants themselves. From an anthropological perspective, it is an interesting question as to why certain kinds of judgments about individuals are formalized and others left on an informal, even unspoken, level.

In the first month of the project (July 1984) the Project Director (Adrian Bennett) drew up a "Guide for the Ethnographic Study of the Intake Process" (Appendix D),which was intended to guide both his own and the Research Assistant's (Carmina Vila) early work on the project. This included initial work on the National Survey Questionnaire (Appendix B) as well as on the Annotated Bibliography (Appendix C), even though these activities did not involve fieldwork. The "Guide" also served as a framework for data collection when we began to review the intake records of Hispanic children (all ages) in the private school in November 1984, and when our first case study children began to enter the private school setting in October of 1984.

The "Guide" emphasized collecting comprehensive data for each of the case study children: including information on community, family and child; institutional treatment and family responses; initiation of the child into schooling; and implications and issues evolving from these categories of information. Two important issues which developed from our work on the first three case studies (Oct. 1984 to April 1985) were: the interface between home/community and school, seen as two overlapping cultural settings; and the child's initiation into schooling.

These two issues became, in time, the two main guiding concerns of the project, and formed the core of a set of issues drawn up at the beginning of the second year by the Project Director to guide preliminary analysis of data collected so far, as well as data collection procedures in the second year (v. Appendix E). This latter guide, though modified to some extent during the second year of the project, has also served as a guide for organizing this report.

From the two primary concerns with the interface between home/community and school and the child's initiation into schooling, other concerns logically devolved. In particular, we realized we needed richly detailed information on both families and the school setting, outside of the specific interactions we were monitoring (i.e., testing sessions; case conferences between test specialists

and parents; classroom interaction; family interaction in the home; and parent-teacher conferences).

Given the limited resources at our disposal, a comprehensive ethnography of the communities the various families lived in was not practicable, since they were spread all over the city. However, some information was available on these communities, or similar communities, from prior work of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, as well as from personal contact with an educational researcher who had worked in one of the communities not studied by the Centro. In any case, we decided to concentrate our efforts on collecting as much data as possible about the families. Again, extended fieldwork in the homes was not feasible if we were also going to cover the various classrooms the children were placed in.

We had planned, and carried out for our first four cases, limited home visits (2-3 per family) and interviews of parents. However, in the second year, we increased home visits, and even videotaped in one of the homes, although our original plans did not include videotaping in the home. To gather more data, the research assistant on the project during the second year (Karin Stuven-Delano) conducted intensive interviews of parents in both home and school as well as on the telephone. As a result, we have much richer data on the families whose children entered the private school setting in the second year.

Similarly, we broadened our interest in the school, conducting interviews of all personnel involved in any way in the intake process, and attending a number of events sponsored by the school which had nothing directly to do with intakes (such as graduation ceremonies), but which would reveal aspects of the school's culture not readily apparent in the intake process itself, though possibly relevant to it.

Thus, not surprisingly we increased the scope of our interest as the ethnographic fieldwork proceeded. Our original emphasis had been very much on close monitoring of the actual interactions between the key participants--child, parents, professionals--involved in the intake process. Thus we planned, and carried out, observations and tapings of interactions in testing settings, case conferences, classrooms, homes, etc. This emphasis derived from extensive research over the past two decades in the ethnography of communication (v. Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Blount and Sanches 1975; Basso 1979; Heath 1983; Philips 1985 for examples applied to a variety of cultural settings, educational and otherwise). Specific questions soon arose as we applied this model of "ethnographic monitoring" (Hymes 1974) to our own field of investigation, questions that this method alone could not answer for us.

Thus the expansion of our interests, and the increased emphasis on interviewing, as a practical way to gather

quickly a broader range of information. The interviews gave us considerable "background" information--such as the immigration and work history of parents, or the professional development of teachers--which, when compiled with our monitoring of specific interactional events in home and school, provided a much richer picture of the interaction between families and schools than either method alone would have afforded.

It can be noted briefly that our methodology represents an attempt to utilize traditional emphases in both American cultural anthropology and British social anthropology. The former's concern with culture as patterns of belief, value, personality, and language (Kroeber 1948)--and more recently with the interpretive principles and practices people apply in building shared understandings (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b; Geertz 1983)--is reflected in our attempt to get at participants' understandings through study of both interview and interactional data.

In the most general sense, this can be characterized as an interest in consciousness, but not so much consciousness as internalized motivating forces in the Freudian sense, but as communicated, learned understandings of what the world is all about, who the self is, and how the self relates to others: in more phenomenological terms, this is to think of consciousness as "intentionality" (Merleau-Ponty 1970; Ricoeur 1981). That is, we adopted a variety of research strategies aimed less at predicting behavior than

at getting a rich sense of what people understood about each other and the institutions they interacted within, as well as how they acquired, and perhaps changed, these understandings in the course of their ongoing interactions over time. The in-depth interviews, particularly of parents, during the second year were intended to give some depth to this side of our analysis; that is, to take us beyond our observations of the immediate environment of specific interactions, such as parent-teacher conferences, classroom events, etc., into the histories of the people who were producing these interactions for each other.

The other anthropological trend that influenced our methods is exemplified most strongly in the tradition of British social anthropology (Malinowski 1922; Evans-Pritchard 1951; Leach 1982), and stresses the analysis of human social action within the contexts of social organization and institutions. This trend is reflected particularly in our interest in both the Hispanic families and the schools as social systems which constrain members' behavior as well as their awareness of the world around them and their interpretation of events within that world.

Unlike the exemplars just cited of the British and American anthropological traditions, however, we were less concerned to find stable <u>patterns</u> of social organization or consciousness than with getting a handle on the dynamics of the relationships between social structure and consciousness. We began with the assumption that both

social structure and consciousness can be seen as actively produced in some sense by human agents themselves, that is, as outcomes of social processes (Wolf 1982; Comaroff 1985; Bennett and Pedraza 1982). However, to what extent the patterns of behavior and thought captured--or rather frozen into place--by our research are in fact the actual products of those specific participants we held for a time under the anthropological lens is, of course, an open question. This might ultimately be considered the question of our research right from the start, and will certainly remain primary in the more painstaking analyses we plan in our future work with the data.

This play of tradition, institutional arrangements, human consciousness and action has, we would argue important ramifications for both research and practice in educational settings. In a very real sense, what education is all about is not simply teaching specific skills, but shaping individuals' consciousness and behavior in such ways that they become certain kinds of adults with certain positions in the total, as well as local, social structure (Spindler 1982; Wilcox 1982). In modern state societies, it is obvious that institutions, particularly schools, are of paramount importance in this shaping process, though researchers have much to learn about how the process works in various settings and under differing social conditions. Without direct investigation of those settings and conditions, such as afforded by ethnographic and related

kinds of fieldwork, it is difficult to determine how, and to what extent, the institutions themselves influence the development of the child into the adult. In some cases, of course, such as with what are euphemistically called "disadvantaged" groups, the influence exerted by schools may be a negative one; that is, one which shows itself largely through the resistance of the students themselves and the alternatives they evolve out of that resistance.

As regards the subject matter of our own project, we were particularly interested in getting a sense of how the participants negotiated their social relations with each other; how they did or did not communicate and share particular understandings; what these understandings in fact were, as well as how they evolved or changed; how these negotiations affected the educational assessment, placement and treatment of our case study children; and the organizational constraints on these social processes.

For example, we wanted to know which participants influenced judgments of the child's needs and abilities, and whether such judgments were related to the actual educational treatments provided. In the course of the research, we also realized that we needed to look at those actual educational treatments and then work back to the judgments of needs and abilities which had been made prior to placement, since those judgments seemed to some extent to be shaped by professionals' knowledge of placement options (cf. Mehan 1981; 1983 for a similar finding), as well as by

a particular educational ideology and set of practices which were already in place in the classrooms.

We also wanted to find out how institutional constraints limited or facilitated the production of certain kinds of judgments and understandings. We wanted to know how decisions about the children were actually made, as well as the accounts decision-makers gave of this process. We wanted to discover, if we could, how the children themselves responded to the social environments created for them in home and classroom, and what effect these responses had on that environment.

These are in sum the kinds of questions we learned to ask in the course of the research. We hope the discussion just provided also gives some sense of the kind of thinking, working back and forth between our initial definition of a research problem, the ongoing process of learning new things from our data, and our understanding of methodology and theory in the social sciences and in anthropology specifically. In the next section of this chapter we describe these data collection methods in more detail, as well as the body of data itself that we built up in the two years of fieldwork.

Data Collection Methods

Our data collection methods involved the use of close observation, video- and audio-taping, interview, the taking of field notes, review of written documents, and a

nationally-distributed questionnaire (with telephone follow-up interview of a subset of respondents). The core of the data collection process was, of course, the monitoring of the case study children as they moved through the intake process from initial appearance at the school to the writing of the "Phase-2" IEP at the end of the first thirty days in the classroom (v. Fig. 2). In fact, for most of our cases, we continued monitoring them well beyond the Phase-2 IEP, though with decreasing attention as new cases began entering the school. Figure 1 provides an overview of project activities over the two-year period.

During the first two months of the first project year (July-August 1984) we initiated work on those parts of the project which were subsidiary to the fieldwork on the case studies, which could not begin until the school year began. This included sending out a preliminary questionnaire to agencies serving Hispanic hearing-impaired children throughout the United States; review of related research as referenced in several standard indexes (such as ERIC and the Educational Index; the development of protocol forms for collecting data, such as the "Guide for the Ethnographic Study of the Intake Process" discussed above, as well as protocol forms for reviewing student's intake records, reviewing data to be collected or recording in the fieldwork, etc. A discussion of the development of the national questionnaire and of its results is provided in

CASE STUDIES OF INTAKES	REVIEW OF STUDENT RECORDS	REVIEW OF RESEARCH	SURVEY OF STATE, LOCAL EDUCATION AGENCIES
Purpose: Collect detailed information on social and cultural processes of deaf Hispanic children's (5-8 yrs.) initiation into schooling.	Purpose: Understand record-keeping practices, their relationship to assessment, categorization, placement; cultural assumptions; institutional constraints.	Purpose: Survey state of art in research and practice relevant to ethnography of Hispanic deaf intakes.	Purpose: Survey current assessment practices for Hispanic deaf intakes in U.S.
Private School: 1. Ana 2. Benito 3. Carlos 4. David 5. Elena 6. Flor 7. Graciela 8. Hector 9. Juan	Private School: 1. Review of all Hispanic Intakes 1980-84 2. Review of case study records as they are compiled.	Components: 1. Decision-making processes. 2. Legal constraints. 3. Language and communication among deaf and Hispanic deaf children. 4. Ethnographic and other studies of deaf schools. 5. Assessment of children (bilingual, special ed., deaf, lg. delayed): a. lang., communication b. educational c. psychological 6. Theories/methods of educational ethnography 7. Sociolinguistics of communication	Data Collection: 1. Sent brief survey questionnaire to ca. 150 agencies received ca. 80 responses. 2. Telephone follow up of 14 agencies serving 60 or more Hispanic deaf children.
Public School: 1. Miguel 2. Pablo 3. Roberto	Public School: 1. Review records of small sample of Hispanics age 8 or less. 2. Review of case study records as compiled.	Products: 1. Essay reviews 2. Annotated biblio.	Product(s): Review essay of state of art.

Figure 1: Overview of Project Activities, July 1, 1984 - June 30, 1986

Appendix B; the Annotated Bibliography can be found in Appendix C.

In September 1984 we began working on our first case study, "Ana Colon" (all subjects names are pseduonyms). During the 1984-1985 school year we completed most of our monitoring on three cases--Ana, Benito, and Carlos--and began working on two new cases, Elena and Graciela. We also taped the intake and MDT (Multi-Disciplinary Team) conference of one other case, David, who was not recommended for placement into the private school. All the other cases mentioned so far entered the private school setting (we refer to the private school as "The Concordia School for the Deaf" throughout this report).

During the second year of the project we expanded our national questionnaire and followed up a selected smaller set of respondents (those who had said they served 60 or more Hispanic hearing impaired children each year) with intensive telephone interviews (v. Appendix B). We conducted preliminary analyses of the data collected so far, including intensive review of certain segments of the data which seemed most pertinent to our ongoing research at the time. We continued work on the cases of Elena and Graciela, and added our eighth case, Hector, who entered the private school setting in the Fall of the 1985-1986 school year.

Toward the end of the school year (1985-1986) we observed and taped the intake evaluations and MDT meetings regarding one more private school case, Juan. Although we

had not planned to use Juan as one of our cases, it happened that school personnel asked us to tape the intake so that they could review their own testing procedures. The intake day happened to coincide with the visit of one of our consultants to the project, Carol Erting, who happens to be an expert on sign language usage in educational settings. She observed the intake testing with us, and conversed with Juan through the use of sign. Because this child was unique among our cases with his apparent knowledge of American Sign Language, Puerto Rican Sign Language, as well as some knowledge of English and Spanish, we thought it important to collect information on his intake experience. We are planning to monitor his classroom experience during the beginning of the current school year (1986-1987). Although this work carries us beyond the conclusion of the project funding, we feel that information collected on Juan's case will be invaluable in providing comparative data when analyzing in more detail the data from our other cases.

During the spring of the 1985-1986 school year we also began collecting data on three of our children who were being processed in the public schools: Miguel, Pablo and Roberto (the latter two are brothers). Again, the school year came to an end before these children were placed in educational programs. However, we have plans to monitor their initial experience in the public schools at the beginning of the current school year, in order to provide further comparative data.

As indicated above, we followed the children from the time of their initial intake evaluation through the end of the first 30-day period in the classroom, at which time the teacher meets with the parent(s) to discuss the Phase-2 IEP, in accordance with New York State Regulations (v. Chapter III). We monitored all formal interactions between professional staff and the children and parents, including the testing and evaluation, MDT conference, classroom interaction, interaction in the homes, and parent-teacher meeting over the Phase-2 IEP. In addition, we conducted interviews of intake personnel, teachers, supervisors, and parents, and other school staff, such as speech teachers and members of a resource team serving Hispanic parents and children at the private school.

We videotaped some interactions, audiotaped others, and simply observed others. We wrote field notes on nearly all these observations, though we found that we could not keep field notes on all of them without giving up opportunities for further observations. We found that, although the period from initial assessment of the child to the Phase-2 IEP conference generally covered from two to four months, it was also an intensive period as regards our observations, especially when we got to the point of trying to keep track of several children at once who were at different stages in the intake process. For example, we began working on the Ana Colon case in Sept. 1984. Our second case, Benito, first came to the school about a month later, while our

third case, Carlos, was first tested in November of that year. Thus, while we were observing Ana in the classroom, we also had to begin observation of our second two cases, first in testing and home settings, then in the classroom. Moreover, the children were seldom processed from testing through to the Phase-2 IEP within two months, due to unforeseen delays. Sometimes the SED rejected the school's first IEP or required changes. In Carlos' case, the SED apparently mislaid his records, causing further delay. Holidays also lengthened the period of processing. The result was that we were required to do observations on three children in three sets of settings (testing, classroom, home, case conferences, etc.) at roughly the same time.

Figure 2 shows the kinds of data we collected regarding the different aspects of the intake process. As regards the intake testing itself, we used videotapes to record the educational, psychological and language assessments of the children, as well as interviews of parents by school staff. We observed and recorded through field notes other aspects of the intake, such as interviews between parents and the director of admissions; audiological testing; health history interviews. In some cases we audiotaped interviews between parents and the social worker, although we were not always able to gain access to these sessions because social workers claimed professional privacy which we had to respect.

When possible, we conducted home visits before parents came to the MDT conference with the assessment staff, using

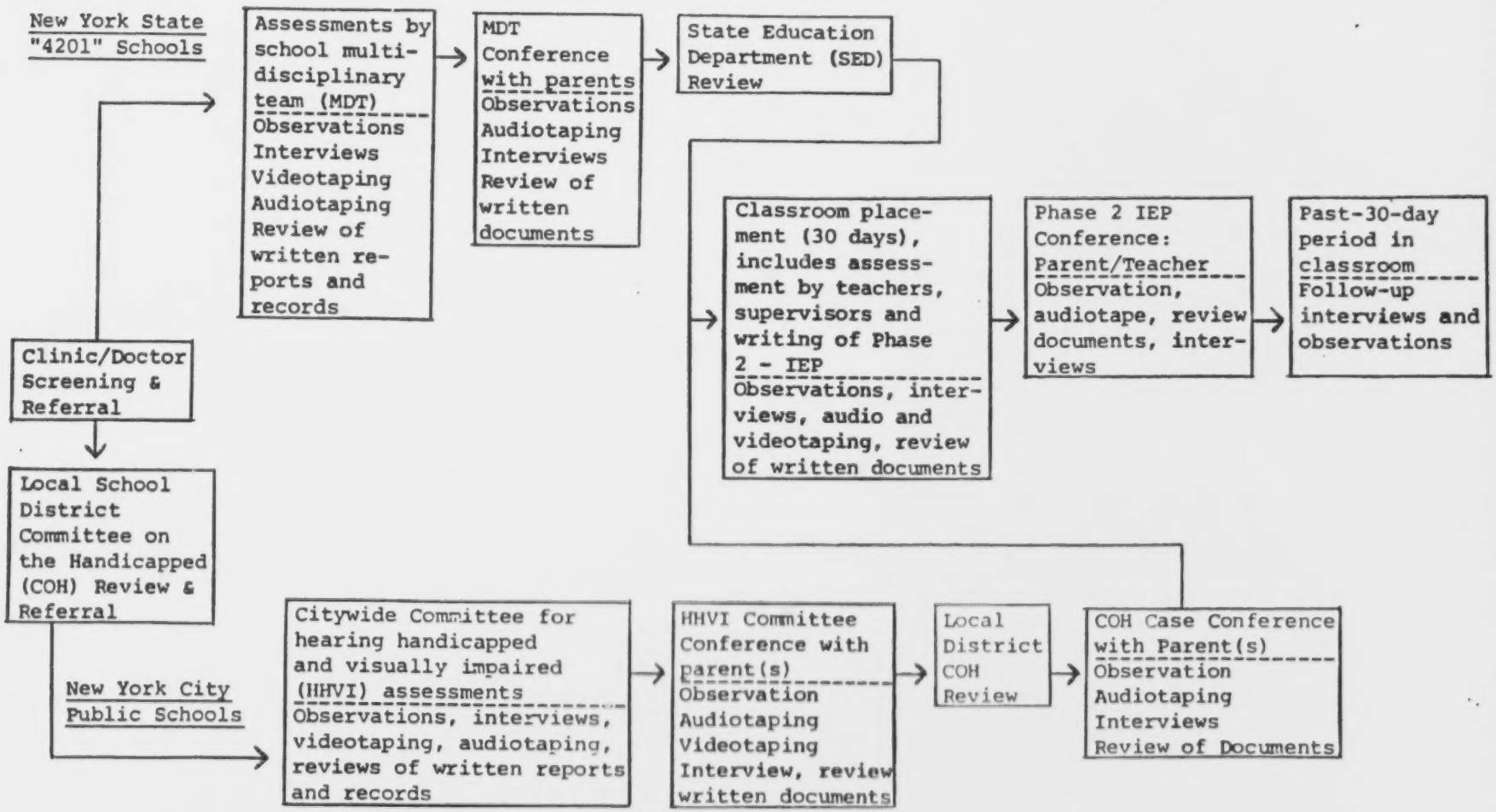
New York State "4201" Schools
Assessments by school multi-disciplinary team (MDT)
Observations
Interviews
Videotaping
Audiotaping
Review of written reports and records
MDT Conference with parents
Observations
Audiotaping
Interviews
Review of written documents
State Education Department (SED) Review
Classroom placement (30 days), includes assessment by teachers, supervisors and writing of Phase 2 - IEP
Observations, interviews, audio and videotaping, review of written documents
Phase 2 IEP Conference: Parent/Teacher
Observation, audiotape, review documents, interviews
Past-30-day period in classroom
Follow-up interviews and observations
Clinic/Doctor Screening & Referral
Local School District Committee on the Handicapped (COH) Review & Referral
New York City Public Schools
Citywide Committee for hearing handicapped and visually impaired (HHVI) assessments
Observations, interviews, videotaping, audiotaping, reviews of written reports and records
HHVI Committee Conference with parent(s)
Observation
Audiotaping
Videotaping
Interview, review written documents
Local District COH Review
COH Case Conference with Parent(s)
Observation
Audiotaping
Interviews
Review of Documents

Figure 2: Intake process for private state supported ("4201") and New York City Public Schools, and data-collection methods used at each stage

these visits to observe social and economic aspects of the home, as well as parent-child interaction in a non-school setting, and to interview parents. We collected extensive data on parents and families by conducting a series of interviews with them, many of which we audiotaped. However, we were not able to collect detailed information regarding interaction in the home itself.

Quite simply, it takes a number of interactions with parents to get access to the home, and the observer needs to be present frequently and regularly in order to allow family members time to become comfortable with his/her presence. At times, parents did in fact become fairly comfortable with Karin Stuven-Delano, the research assistant for the second year. It was our feeling that being Hispanic, female, and having considerable experience working and associating with working-class Hispanic parents, she was able to gain parents' confidence with relative ease. However, even in these cases, we did not find the time to make repeated visits to the homes, since we would have lost valuable observational time in the school settings had we focused on the homes. Nevertheless, we did collect enough data to suggest further studies on family interaction in the home which could prove quite useful to educators of handicapped children from Hispanic homes. We need not emphasize that such studies are at present virtually nonexistent in the research literature (Delgado 1984).

We audiotaped, as well as observed, the MDT or case conference, taking notes during these meetings themselves. Our most intensive and repeated observations were reserved for the classrooms, for we felt that this was the only way we could learn about how the children themselves responded to their early experience of schooling. The classrooms were also important in the sense that the teachers, being required to formalize their assessments of the child for the Phase-2 IEP, necessarily based these assessments on their first few weeks of interaction with and observation of the child in their own classrooms. We averaged about fifteen to twenty observations of classroom interaction for each of the case study children. Some of these observations covered the entire classroom day, while others focussed on various aspects of the day, such as the first hour in the classroom, specific formal and informal classroom activities, lunch, playground time, etc. We took field notes either during or after our classroom observations, although we did not always attempt to record each observation.

In addition to these observations, we videotaped at intervals in the classroom. The amount of taping we were able to do depended to a large extent on our relationship with the teacher and her interest in the project. Some teachers expressed the view that any videotaping was a highly noticeable intrusion, although even these teachers allowed taping. Other teachers were eager to have us tape and to view the tapes themselves. We taped most of our case

study children for at least three separate sessions of about two hours each, giving us six hours of classroom videos that covered a variety of classroom activities, from "freeplay" to highly structured, from formal teaching to informal sessions such as lunch or snacktime.

One of the most fruitful practices that evolved out of our continual attempts to improve our field methods and refine our research questions, came during our second year during work on Flor's case. When she was placed in the classroom, we began experimenting with a two-step procedure for taking field notes. During observations, which we restricted to one or two hours at a time, we took brief notes regarding such things as the overall picture of classroom activities (who was participating in what and in what part of the room); the ongoing nature of specific activities in outline form; brief snatches of what participants did or said. Then, immediately after concluding the observation, the observer, using a computer word processer, elaborated on these sketches in as much detail as possible. This produced a series of classroom observations that were thereby recorded in extensive detail. After elaborating the field notes in this way, the observer then reviewed them and wrote out immediately his questions, interpretations, relevant issues as he perceived them at the time. We provide an example of these fieldnotes from a classroom observation conducted in Flor's classroom in Appendix F.

These notes were then shared with the teacher who was asked to comment on them. In addition, the principal investigator attempted to have a number of interactions, formally scheduled as well as spontaneously occurring, with the teacher when the children were out of the classroom. After videotaping in this classroom, we invited the teacher to view the videotapes with us, again encouraging the teacher to raise questions and to initiate discussion of issues which she felt to be important. In this way we were able to establish a particularly good rapport with the teacher, and she provided us with an in-depth view of her classroom, Flor and Flor's parents, the teacher's own professional experience, and her views about educating young deaf children. This enabled us to test some of our own views about what was going on in the classroom against the teacher's view, and to raise certain questions we would not otherwise have been aware of.

We note here the importance of this teacher's own professional development and social position with the school. She had had several years of working in the school, including working in the library and other settings, and had developed a certain confidence in her abilities as a teacher. At the same time, she was quite able to question her own practice as a teacher, and seemed always ready to consider alternative views of pedagogy. Similarly, she was very clear and explicit about her goals as a teacher in general, and about the goals of each of her teaching

activities. All of these factors contributed to her ability to work with observers who, after all, could be quite detached from what went on in school in classroom, having no particular responsibility for what went on in the school or classroom.

We were not always able to establish such close working relationships with the teachers of our other case study children. In some cases, teachers lacked extensive experience in working with preschool deaf children, and/or Hispanic deaf children, and were not comfortable in being observed. In other cases, though teachers were experienced, they seemed to consider our presence in the classroom intrusive. This attitude varied considerably of course over time. When teachers felt pressured, such as by conflicts with parents, they were naturally less willing to cooperate or to be open with the researchers. However, teachers in the private school were generally cooperative, and in many cases provided us with information about their views which they would not share with, for example, supervisors or parents.

Conducting Preliminary Analyses of the Data

As noted earlier, we considered it an essential part of ethnography to conduct reviews and analyses of the data as we collected it. The time required for these analyses had to be sandwiched into periods in which we were collecting data. At times, it seemed all we could do to keep up with

the data collection process, particularly when we were monitoring more than one child at a time.

The principal investigator held frequent discussion sessions with the research assistant to review data collected and to compare observations. We attempted to review audio and video tapes as soon as we collected them, to record information relevant to our research questions in these reviews, but found that this process was time consuming. Most of the tapes were reviewed by one of the project members during the two years of the project, including the project assistant who catalogued for future reference, information on the tapes. The project director (Adrian Bennett) had almost daily discussions with the research assistants (Carmina Vila, first year; Karin Stuven-Delano, second year), to compare observations and to develop our interpretations of the data.

The project director compiled extensive "interpretive notes" on the data, based on these discussions and reviews. Periodically, the project director then drew up lists of important research issues which were then used to guide further data collection and the ongoing process of analysis. The general development of these issues has been outlined in an earlier section of this chapter.

Our preliminary analyses of the data proceeded by selecting an issue we wanted to find out more about, and then reviewing field notes and tape recordings to find segments which were pertinent to those issues. Sometimes

this meant focussing on a specific individual case study child or family. At other times, we might focus on particular settings, such as educational evaluations, MDT meetings, classroom events, etc. Again, we might look at the data with a view to finding out more about parent-school relations, or the child's response to schooling, or manifestations of school culture, etc.

We then would review selected segments and write "interpretive notes" which related the examples or information in the data to our interests of the moment. In this way we built up over time a collection of notes on various aspects of the data as related to the kinds of issues already discussed above. We have not, it should be noted, reviewed all of our collected data at this point, nor would we have been able to do so and continue monitoring our case study families and children as we needed to. However, in future work on this data, we plan to review all notes and recordings, continuing in the same manner as just outlined, focussing on specific issues and interests, selecting relevant segments, and building up interpretive notes. We expect through this procedure to enlarge our issues of concern, raise further questions, and relate our analyses more directly to current research as well as to current educational practice.

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APPENDIX A

PLANS FOR FURTHER ANALYSIS

OF DATA AND DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS

Plans For Further Analysis Of Data And Dissemination Of Results

Further Analysis

At the close of the project June 30, 1986, we had collected approximately 300 typed pages of field notes and interview data; 65 hours of videotaped interaction in testing and classroom settings; and 75 hours of audiotaped case conferences, parent-teacher Phase-2 IEP meetings, and interviews of parents and staff. We conducted preliminary analyses of much of this data on an ongoing basis during the course of the two-year project, in order to guide the data collection process and the refining of research issues. The full report, especially Chapters V and VI, will provide more detailed analyses of portions of the data and will illustrate methods of such analysis. Our plan is over time to select crucial portions of the data for further detailed analysis of this kind. Basically, we expect to trace each of our case study children through the intake process (as described in Chapter I pp. 8-11), examining specific research issues such as the following:

- What are the sociocultural and interactional processes by means of which the child is defined and a particular social identity for the child is elaborated?
- What is the child's specific response to initiation into formal schooling; how does that response evolve over time; and how does it reflect the social and cultural conditions of schooling?
- What is the nature of the relationship between parents and professional staff, and how does this relationship evolve over time? What are the social, cultural and institutional constraints which most influence this process?

In the course of our future analyses we will be focusing on these broad issues, as well as a number of more specific questions related to these issues. We will select segments of our data which show the most promise for exploration of those issues. We will, of course, remain open to exploration of other issues that are pertinent to the data, but which we may not have anticipated.

Dissemination Plans

A number of channels for dissemination of our research are open to us. These include the following:

1. We are currently conducting a Personnel Preparation Project, "Preparation of Intake Personnel for Communicatively Handicapped Hispanic Children," Grant #G008530320, funded by the Department of Education. This project will develop training materials for intake staff, administrators and teachers, and for Hispanic parents. The materials will be based on the findings of the research project. Anticipated products include:

- A videotaped case study of the intake process involving Hispanic hearing-impaired children;
- A written case study of the intake process;
- A handbook for Hispanic parents describing the intake process, and providing information which will help ensure their participation in decision-making;
- A set of materials for six sessions on the intake process for ancillary staff. Materials will include a book of readings as well as curriculum guides for the sessions.
- A set of materials for thirteen training sessions for professional intake staff. Materials will include a set of readings; an annotated bibliography; selected videotaped segments; and curriculum guides for the sessions.

Other dissemination plans include the following:

2. We have signed a contract for a book, which will be based on the final report but which will include further analyses as planned. The book is tentatively titled, Schooling the Different: Hispanic deaf children go to school. It will be published in 1988 in both Great Britain and North America by Falmer Press, Ltd., Barcombe Lewes, Sussex, BN8 5DL England. The book will also be distributed in Australia and New Zealand.

3. We plan to submit articles for publication to scholarly journals, which may include the following:

The Harvard Educational Review

The Journal of Education

The Anthropology and Education Quarterly

Human Organization

Exceptional Children

Disability, Handicap and Society

4. Paper presentations:

We have already presented, or expect to present, papers at the following scholarly conferences:

The Deaf Hispanic child goes to school: ethnographic perspectives. Paper delivered as invited member of panel at Teachers college, Columbia University, sponsored by the New York State Commission on Quality of Care, and the National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center, Sept. 11-13, 1985.

Struggles for knowledge and power: incorporating Hispanic deaf children into formal schooling. Paper presented at 30th Annual Meetings of the Comparative and International Education Society, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Canada, March 13-16, 1986.

Ethnography as critical thinking: case studies of the struggle for language, culture and power in schools for the deaf. Invited workshop, Annual Conference of the International Reading Association, Philadelphia, PA, April 13-17, 1986.

Social and cultural influences on assessing deaf children's language. Paper delivered at the annual conference of the New York State Association of Educators of the Deaf, Concord Hotel, Kiamesha Lake, NY, Oct. 22-24.

Explaining the noninvolvement of parents in schooling. Paper delivered at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Philadelphia, PA, Dec. 2-6, 1986.

Noninvolving Third World people in educational decision making. Paper to be presented at the 31st Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Washington, DC, March 12-15, 1987.

Perspectives on identity: Hispanic deaf children go to school. Paper to be presented at the annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Oaxaca, Mexico, April 8-11, 1987.

An invited paper as yet untitled focusing on law, educational policy, social organization of special education settings, and sociocultural processes involving relationships between Hispanic deaf children and families with schools. To be presented at the first annual international conference on Disability, Handicap and Policy, Bristol, England July 27-29, 1988.

We expect to continue such presentations at annual conferences of these and other societies in the future, including the American Educational Research Association, the American Sociological Association, and the Council for Exceptional Children.

APPENDIX B

NATIONAL SURVEY

The Survey: Design and Procedures

Two surveys were conducted as part of this project. Both the initial questionnaire and the telephone follow-up were designed to survey programs serving Hispanic hearing impaired children from 2-6. The purpose of these surveys was to obtain information from sites to compare assessment and placement procedures for this population.

In the first year of the project (1984-85), we ascertained information from programs throughout the U.S. which we believed - based on location of the program or other available information - would be serving Hispanic hearing-impaired children. The initial questionnaire, using a two-page format was designed to elicit as much information as possible in an easy to answer format. This in turn was to help generate a large sample for a telephone follow-up. The two page survey (see section A, attached) requested information regarding number and age of Hispanics served, assessment procedures, test used, personnel performing assessment tasks, etc. Surveys were sent to 110 schools, districts, and institutions in various areas of the country with large Hispanic populations. There were 43 responses to the second mailing. Those respondents who said they served 60 or more Hispanic hearing impaired children per year were then selected for in-depth follow-up interview by telephone (n=15).

Of the fifteen original respondents in this group fourteen were contacted for the follow-up. The one not contacted was a state office of education, which had a number of schools under their jurisdiction also chosen for participation in the study. Therefore, to reduce duplication of results, the state office was not included in the telephone interview. All fourteen programs contacted agreed to participate in the telephone follow-up making a 100% response rate to the survey.

The telephone interviews were designed to be consistent with ethnographic research methods. Each follow-up questionnaire used the respondent's previous answers to build upon. For example, if the respondent answered a question such as:

> Are the assessment, evaluation and placement procedures used with Hispanic Hearing Impaired Children the same, partly the same, or completely different from those used with non-Hispanic hearing impaired children? (Check one):
>
> _____ same __x__ partly same _____ completely different

The follow-up questionnaire would ask:

1) What are the assessment procedures?
2) How do you find out what/how a child can communicate?
3) What makes it different?
   a. Instruments
   b. Personnel
   c. Interpreters
   d. Cultural background
   e. Other _____
4) How is the process changed for these students?

If another respondent answered the question with a different response, such as:

> Are the assessment, evaluation and placement procedures used with Hispanic hearing impaired children the same, partly the same, or completely different from those used with non-Hispanic hearing impaired children? (Check one):
>
> __x__ same _____ partly same _____ completely different

The follow-up survey would request answers to the following questions:

1) What are the assessment procedures?
2) How do you find out what/how a child can communicate?
3) Is it an institutional practice (regulation) to give all the same procedures?
4) Are trained personnel available to service this bi-lingual population?
5) Is there a lack of trained personnel?

As is evident from this approach to the follow-up interviews, all respondents were asked several of the same questions; however, they were also requested to answer inquiries specific to their situation.

Since there were fourteen different questionnaires and anonymity was guaranteed to all the participants appending all the surveys would be a breach of trust. Additionally, each survey exceeded 6 pages. Instead, appended is a compilation of one of every question asked on all fourteen forms. (section C).

In addition to the specific follow-up questions a parent and ethnic component was added to the survey. All participants were asked to complete this section of the form. The parent component tapped issues of parent involvement, support and education specific to each program. The ethnic component gleaned information about the population served at the individual school, district or institution. A copy of this portion of the follow-up appended. (section D).

The procedure used to conduct this survey was time consuming, but the 100% response rate made it worthwhile. Once chosen for the follow-up, the person who completed the original survey was contacted by telephone. This first telephone conversation was meant to establish a rapport with the respondent, explain the purpose of the study, request their cooperation in the follow-up activities, and set a date and time to hold the telephone interview. A number of the administrators had to be called several times to establish contact.

After the initial telephone contact, a packet was sent to each of the cooperating schools, institutions, or districts. The packet consisted of a letter confirming the date and time of the interview, a copy of their original completed questionnaire and a copy of the specifically prepared follow-up survey. This packet was designed to allow participants time to research and prepare responses for the telephone interview.

Each participant was called on the date at the time agreed upon in advance. Four of the participants had to cancel for various reasons. Two had emergencies, one had not received her packet of materials, and the fourth after receiving the packet felt that she was an inappropriate candidate to respond to the survey. The two with other commitments and the third when her packet came rescheduled new dates and times for telephone contact. The fourth directed HIP personnel to the appropriate party in the institution for the telephone follow-up.

Thirteen of the fourteen telephone interviews were conducted by the same research assistant. All parties were asked if they would mind being taped. Some of the participants did not feel comfortable with taping and their wishes not to be taped were respected.

Each respondent was given a choice in how she would like the interview conducted. About half the participants preferred to read already prepared responses, while the other half wanted the interviewer to discuss each question individually. Both ways resulted in similar responses to the specific questions on the survey; however, more detailed information surrounding the issue was gleaned when each question was discussed. The interviews took an average of 70 minutes each to complete.

A summary of the data collected during the follow-up telephone interviews appears in Section E. Summary Section F summarizes the parent-ethnic component.

INFORMATION FORM

1. About how many Hispanic children who are deaf or hearing impaired are being served in your state, district or institution?

   _____

2. About how many Hispanic deaf or hearing impaired children between the ages of 2 to 6 years old are processed through intake/admission procedures each year in your district or institution?

   _____

3. Are the assessment, evaluation and placement procedures used with Hispanic hearing impaired children the same, partly the same, or completely different from those used with non-Hispanic hearing impaired children? (Check one):

   _____ same _____ partly same _____ completely different

4. In assessing Hispanic hearing impaired children do you use any of the following procedures? (Check all that apply):

   _____ individually administered tests

   _____ interviews of parents

   _____ interviews of children

   _____ classroom observations

   _____ home visits and observations

   _____ other (please explain briefly) _____

   _____.

5. Do you use any of the following kinds of instruments to assess Hispanic hearing impaired children (Check all that apply):

   _____ questionnaires/interview formats

   _____ educational achievement tests

   _____ psychometric tests

   _____ language proficiency tests

   _____ observation schedules

   _____ other (please explain briefly) _____

   _____

6. Which standardized or published test instruments do you use, if any?_____

   _____

   _____

INFORMATION FORM

7. What locally developed or in-house test instruments do you use, if any? _____

_____

_____

8. Which staff or personnel are usually involved in the assessment procedures? (Check all that apply):

_____ supervisors

_____ teachers

_____ psychologists

_____ consultants

_____ other (explain) _____.

9. Which staff members are responsible for writing the IEP? _____

_____.

10. Are the assessment procedures used for Hispanic hearing impaired children the same for all those in the age group 2-6 years, or do you differentiate according to age? (Please explain whatever differences there are briefly): _____

_____

_____

_____

_____.

11. Do you use Spanish/English bilingual personnel in any part of the assessment process in the evaluation of Hispanic hearing impaired.

_____ No

_____ Yes (If yes, in what capacity?) _____

_____.

If we should wish further information, who should we contact?

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Phone: _____

Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños
Hunter College East
695 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Summary of Original Questionnaire Data

A total of 110 questionnaires were sent to State, Local Education Agencies and Institutions. The total number of responses were 57. Data collection is based on 46 of the responses, since 9 of them had zero Hispanics and one did not return the questionnaire but provided different information.

Each questionnaire includes a total of 11 questions which were individually analyzed in three categories based on total numbers of Hispanic children being served: 0-25, 26-75, and over 75 children. Within the State, Local Education Agencies, and Institutional categories, other subdivisions have been made to collect the data as needed. Our data is based on 4 responses from State Agencies, 18 from Local Education Agencies and 25 from Institutions.

Here we include the questionnaire, a summary of responses to each question, and data coding sheets which provide a more detailed breakdown of the data.

Question #1:

A total of 1486 Hispanic hearing impaired children are currently being served by respondents:

53 were served by State Agencies
739 were served by Local Education Agencies
694 were served directly by Institutions

Question #2:

Within the age range of 2-6 years, 111 Hispanic hearing impaired children are processed per year with the exception of two respondents that claim to receive at least one child within a three year period.

4 children were served through State Agencies
2 State respondents had no way to make this data available
123 were served through Local Education Agencies, and
84 were served through Institutions.

Questions #3, 4, 5, 8, 10 and 11 (See below for questions 6, 7 and 9)

Numbers indicate total number of respondents replying affirmatively to each component of each question

(#3) Assessment, evaluation, and placement procedures used with Hispanic hearing impaired children: 28 agencies use the same procedures, 19 use partly the same procedures. None have developed completely different procedures.

(#4) Procedures used to assess Hispanic hearing impaired children:

46 use individually administered tests
44 use interviews of parents
27 use home visits and observations
37 use interviews of children
39 use classroom observations
17 use other (interviews with teachers, previous records, etc.)

(#5) Instruments used to assess Hispanic hearing impaired children:

29 questionnaires/interview formats
42 educational achievement tests
27 observation schedules
40 psychometric tests
34 language proficiency tests
17 other (review of student's files, auditory and speech evaluations, etc.)

(#8) Staff or personnel involved in assessment procedures: 20 use supervisors; 38 use teachers; 42 use psychologists; 17 use consultants; 33 use other (audiologist, speech/language pathologist, nurse, social worker, etc.)

(#10) Differentiation by age of assessment procedures for Hispanic hearing impaired children within the age groups of 2-6 years old: 8 no differentiation; 5 some differentiation; 30 differentiate by age.

(#11) Spanish/English bilingual personnel involved in the assessment process of Hispanic hearing impaired children: 34 use bilingual personnel and 7 do not use bilingual personnel.

Question #6 (See: Data Coding Forms)

Standardized or published tests used by respondents, grouped by incidence of use (8 respondents did not provide names of tests used).

Question #7:

A total of 20 agencies have developed local or in-house test instruments:

6 Local Education Agencies, and
14 Institutions use their own developed instruments.

Question #9:

Staff members responsible for writing the IEP:

Teachers	(Educational Diagnostician, Program Specialist)	43
Team Approach	(Committee, School Staff, Assessment Staff, Support Services)	16
Psychologist		12
Supervisors and Others	(Parents, Intake Evaluator, School Representative Speech, Language Pathologist)	10
Administrators		7
Consultants		1

Compilation of Fourteen

Follow-Up Telephone Surveys

What are the assessment procedures?
i.e. ed./psychological

How do you find out what/how a child can communicate?
i.e. observe child's interaction with parent
parent questionnaire

What makes it different?

a. instruments
b. personnel
c. interpreters
d. cultural background
e. other _____

How is the process changed for these students?

Is it an institutional practice (regulation) to give all the same procedures?

Are trained personnel available to service this bi-lingual population?

Is there a lack of trained personnel?

Are there any differences, and if so, what are the differences in interviews given to Hispanic students?

Are there any differences, and if so, what are the differences in interviews given to parents of Hispanic students?

Are there any differences, and if so, what are the differences in test instruments given to Hispanic students?

What do you look for in an observation?

What do you look for during observation schedules?

What do you look for during a home visit?

What type of information is gleaned from interviews with parents?

What type of information is gleaned from interviews with students?

How do you evaluate background information?

What type of information is gleaned from previous school records and reports?

What type of information is gleaned from speaking with LEA representatives?

What is the home language survey?

If sample interview forms are available, please send.

What is the pre-school _____ program?

We see you are getting information from various sources during the assessment process. Is one source more important than the other in relation to placement and programming?

What do you ask the pupil to write on the written language sample?

You use ((varied for each program) supervisors, teachers, psychologists, consultants, nurse, occupational therapists, educational diagnosticians, social workers, educational evaluators, otologists, physical therapists, speech and auditory training specialists, language specialists, O&M evaluators, low vision specialists, audiologists and any person who knows the child's past or present academic, social and emotional functioning during the assessment process)--what are the roles of each of these individuals during assessment procedures?

Is there one person or group responsible for Hispanic intakes?

Is it formal or informal?

What are the other responsibilities of this person or people?

From the original:
Are the assessment procedures used for Hispanic hearing impaired children the same for all those in the age group 2-6, or do you differentiate according to age? (Please explain whatever differences there are briefly): _____

Follow-up questions:

What are the differences?

How do you determine abilities and needs of child prior to assessment?

How do you individualize for each student?

What things do you take into consideration?

How is developmental level determined prior to assessment?

How is functioning level determined prior to assessment?

How is achievement level and/or individual abilities determined prior to assessment?

How is the developmental and educational level determined prior to assessment?

From the original:
Do you use Spanish/English bilingual personnel in any part of the assessment process in the evaluation of Hispanic hearing impaired?

Why?
i.e.: lack of trained personnel

Does your institution use personnel whose primary role is to work with Hispanic hearing impaired pupils?

Does your school have one person or group responsible for Hispanic intakes?

What is this person's training?

Are they trained to work with Hispanics?

How do you determine which student needs an interpreter for intake and which student doesn't?

How are interpreters used?

Does the bilingual pupil personnel services team help with IEP development?

What other roles does the bilingual pupil personnel services team play? Please be specific.

From your response to the question, I take it that your Institution uses personnel whose primary role is to work with Hispanic hearing impaired pupils. Is that correct?

At any point during the intake process, do you interview parents of Hispanic hearing impaired children?

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

12.0 In the original questionnaire you responded that you use interviews of parents in your educational assessment of Hispanic hearing impaired children.

12.1 What weight is given to this portion of the assessment?

12.2 Are the parents informed of the assessment procedure?

12.3 How are they informed?

PARENT & ETHNIC
COMPONENT

12.4 Generally, do they understand the relationship of their responses to the process of assessment, placement and programming?

12.5 Are there trouble spots during the assessment process where extra work is necessary to keep parents involved?

12.6 What information is given to the parent prior to the onset of assessment?

12.7 What role do parents have in the decision making process of assessment, placement and programming?

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

12.8 What information is given to the parent prior to the onset of educational programming?

12.9 How is this done?

13. Is there an educational component built in for parents to be actively involved in their child's schooling?

13.1 Is it formal or informal?

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

13.2 Is there a parent education program offered at/in your district?

13.3 a. Is there a parent support group?

b. What is its role?

13.4 Are there any other parent organizations that take an active role in intake process?

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

13.5 Is there an orientation for parents when Hispanic students join the program?

13.6 What is the percentage of Hispanic parents participating in these programs?

13.7 Why do you think the numbers are like that?

14.0 What is the ethnic background of the Hispanic children you serve? i.e.: are you getting any specific populations?

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

14.1 Is the Hispanic population enrolled in your school--

a. Recent immigrants
b. Long term community members
c. Migrant workers
d. Other_____

14.2 How does the school attendance of Hispanics compare to that of the rest of your enrollees?

a. Here more often
b. Same
c. Here less often
d. Far more frequent absences

15.0 What is the socio-economic level of the Hispanic population enrolled in your district?

i.e.: Free lunch program
Title I (Chapter I)

RESULTS OF FOLLOW-UP TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

WHAT ARE YOUR ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES?

All of the 14 schools surveyed responded that they did psychological and educational testing as well as an audiological examination.

Most of the schools also interviewed parents for social, medical, and developmental history.

Interesting features of some assessment procedures were:
- the child was placed with peer group and observed during interactions.
- one school did not have the parents present throughout the testing situation.

HOW DO YOU FIND OUT WHAT/HOW A CHILD COMMUNICATES?

Schools looked at different references to discover student communication abilities. Most programs obtained previous records and interviewed the parents. Additionally, most of the programs observed the child during parent/child interactions, child/child interactions, and child/evaluator interactions. Finally, most of the programs considered direct communication with the child.

Two of the programs used slightly different approaches. The first created play situations to encourage interaction with the evaluator. The second had a centralized placement center that determined communication ability of the child prior to assessment by the team.

WHEN ASKED IF THE ASSESSMENT WAS THE SAME OR DIFFERENT FOR HISPANIC STUDENTS AND WHY THE FOLLOWING WAS THE RESULT.

Eight of the fourteen, responded that the procedures were the same. All but one responded that it was by institutional practice or 94-142 regulation. One of the programs said it was the same except for the use of interpreters.

The six programs that responded that assessment procedures were different gave reasons that they used different tests, interpreters or bilingual personnel. Additionally, two programs made the assessment different to accommodate for cultural differences.

HOW IS THE ASSESSMENT PROCESS CHANGED?

Most schools declared process unchanged, remained the same except for interpreters.

Two of the respondents had different responses. The first said they took into account how long the child was in the country, their cultural differences, family circumstances, and possible language delays due to the previous reasons. The second respondent with a different response

RESULTS OF FOLLOW-UP TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

said that instead of the assessment process being conducted by inhouse staff, a bilingual team travel to the individual's school within the district.

ARE TRAINED PERSONNEL AVAILABLE?

Out of the 11 programs responding to this question 2 responded that they had enough trained personnel available to suit their needs. One of the 2 programs, suggested that they give extra bilingual pay to obtain trained personnel. Other programs compensated with the use of one team member, i.e., social worker, psychologist, teacher or teacher aide being bilingual, or with the use of interpreters.

IS THERE A LACK OF PERSONNEL?

Each of the eight programs that responded yes there was a lack of Spanish speaking assessment personnel had different ideas why this was so. Here are their responses:

1. We have no lack of bilingual psychologists, but we also have no bilingual teacher or speech therapists.

2. There is especially a shortage of bilingual speech people and teachers of the hearing impaired. This is because the University of _____ dropped its program.

3. In our state we don't have the number of bilingual or Hispanic diagnosticians to fill the large need.

4. We have advertised for two years for a Spanish speaking speech and language therapist. Instead, I took Spanish courses, had the Spanish speaking psychologists coach me in what to listen for during testing and finally spent a summer in Mexico to improve my Spanish.

5. We have constantly contacted the state for funding for a Spanish educational evaluator, SW and parent educator, but it has been denied.

6. Considering the low salaries we have to offer, we have been waiting quite a while to get a Spanish psychologist and parent educator.

7. Spanish population aren't aware of need, don't have people going into field of special education with Spanish background.

8. There are no bilingual assessment personnel that are certified. Instead we use bilingual staff members who are available to assist in the evaluation process.

RESULTS OF FOLLOW-UP TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

ARE THERE DIFFERENCES, AND IF SO WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES IN INTERVIEWS GIVEN TO HISPANIC STUDENTS?

Of the thirteen programs originally stating that they interview students, less than half actually interview the child. They use observations, play situations, or a simple form to fill out to speak with the students. Those programs that actually interview the child said that the interview remains the same except that it is in Spanish or is interpreted into Spanish.

WHAT TYPE OF INFORMATION IS GLEANED FROM INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS?

Eleven of the fourteen schools were asked this question. Although one school did have a formal questionnaire that they used to interview students (questions such as: What is your favorite class?; what do you do after school?; how do people at home communicate?; and does anyone at home sign? were asked on this form) the remainder of the programs suggested that limited information could be gleaned from interviewing students. Instead, the evaluators would observe students in a variety of situations and use this as the interview to gather information such as: language abilities, eye contact, social interactions, peer relationships, appropriate behavior, frustration level, reasoning ability, problem solving strategies, self-esteem, need for special equipment, how responsible they are with hearing aid, strengths and weaknesses.

ARE THERE ANY DIFFERENCES AND IF SO WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES IN INTERVIEWS GIVEN TO PARENTS OF HISPANIC STUDENTS?

All 14 programs responded to this question. Eleven of the programs stated that it was the same interview as to parents of English speaking students, however, three of the programs insisted on the use of interpreters and the others used Spanish speaking personnel. Three programs made the interview different. Three of the programs went out of their way to include parent interviews, even if it meant home visits with native speakers. One of the three programs accounted for cultural differences. Questions were asked differently and at different times when a parent was bonded. The differences were usually related to the more nuturing personalities of Mexican American parents, since program goals encouraged more independence they had to incorporate this into the interviews.

Another of the three programs looked at the home environment, family dynamics, child nutrition, including interviewing sibling and other family members to see if the family needed any other community assistance that took precedence over schooling, i.e., food stamps, medical help, housing.

The third and final program to respond differently took an approach that accounted for parents educational as well as cultural differences.

RESULTS OF FOLLOW-UP TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

WHAT TYPE OF INFO IS GLEANED FROM INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS?

A combination of the twelve respondents made up this list:

> Birth history, social history, developmental history, case history, medical history, level of functioning, academic functioning, educational background, self-help skills, strengths and weaknesses of child, home language, family reaction to identification of child, discipline, how parents help child to develop language and communication skills, family background, family problems, and parents' educational level.

ARE THERE ANY DIFFERENCES, AND IF SO, WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES IN TEST INSTRUMENTS GIVEN TO HISPANIC STUDENTS?

It is almost impossible to group the responses to this question. They are as different as each program that responded.

Of the programs that responded no differences:
Three programs said absolutely no changes. One responded that they give the child the Luter, but also some English speaking students are given this. One program responded that there were no changes, however, the psychological tests are designed with subtle differences. Another program said that the psychoeducational evaluation was the same but the communication evaluation was different. One program said there were no differences unless the student had an unusual educational background. And finally, two programs translated the instruments into Spanish.

There were four programs that responded that they were using different instruments. Three used test instruments standardized on Spanish populations. The fourth used only the non-verbal parts of test instruments.

Something was suggested by one of the respondents that was of interest to the project, "It really doesn't make any difference whether it is in Spanish or English, they haven't really heard anything."

WHAT DO YOU LOOK FOR IN AN OBSERVATION?

Of the ten programs responding to this question, they generally are looking for similar things. The following is a combined list: child's communication, language capabilities, family communication skills, interaction with parents, interaction with environment, interaction with peers, interaction with teachers, level of functioning, concentration on task, behavior, socialization and need for further testing.

RESULTS OF FOLLOW-UP TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

WHAT DO YOU LOOK FOR DURING A HOME VISIT?

Seven programs conduct home visits. Of the seven programs, most said it was the same as observations with the addition of: looking for cultural differences, to be able to adjust for them in the child's program, help give family support based on lifestyle, look for family problems which might affect learning, and to focus on parents' ability to follow through on program suggestions in the home.

WHAT INFORMATION IS GLEANED FROM PREVIOUS RECORDS AND REPORTS?

One school responded to this question with: achievement info, socio-economic level, cultural, parent involvement, educational background, school background, communication skills and mode, audiological and medical information.

Information gleaned from LEA representatives was: current updated status of child.

WE SEE YOU ARE GETTING INFORMATION FROM VARIOUS SOURCES DURING THE ASSESSMENT PROCESS. IS ONE SOURCE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE OTHER IN RELATION TO PLACEMENT AND PROGRAMMING?

Each of the 14 programs were asked this question. A variety of answers were received.

Two of the programs said the parent information was very important, however, one of these programs also named the classroom teacher as equally important as the parent. A third program stated that the classroom teacher was the most reliable source of information, because she/he sees the child on a day-to-day basis.

Four of the programs claimed they used all gathered information and made a team decision based on that.

One school determined placement primarily by considering reading and math scores. Another program said language level was the most important factor. Still, another school declared readiness skills, i.e., toilet training, attention span, motor development, as the most important things considered for placement.

Of the remaining programs one said intellectual functioning and behavior, a second responded the psychological and audiological evaluation, a third the on-sight academic testing and the final program based decisions on the audiological and otological evaluations.

RESULTS OF FOLLOW-UP TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

WHAT ARE THE ROLES OF VARIOUS INDIVIDUALS DURING ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES? (SUPERVISORS, TEACHERS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, CONSULTANTS, NURSE, OCCUPATIONAL THERAPIST, SPEECH AND AUDITORY TRAINING SPECIALISTS, AUDIOLOGISTS, EDUCATIONAL DIAGNOSTICIANS, SOCIAL WORKERS, EDUCATIONAL EVALUATORS, OTOLOGISTS, PHYSICAL THERAPISTS, VOCATIONAL EVALUATOR)

Each of the 14 programs responded with different personnel. However, each person's responsibility was evident by his/her title. All schools said each person named became part of the assessment team.

IS THERE ONE GROUP OR PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR HISPANIC INTAKES? IS IT FORMAL OR INFORMAL? WHAT ARE THE OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES OF THIS PERSON OR GROUP?

Nine of the thirteen schools responding to these set of questions said no one person or group was responsible for Hispanic intakes. Those schools or programs had a formal team or committee in existence for all intakes. Of the four other respondents, one district has a bilingual team that's formally created to serve the Hispanic population for any educational matter. The three other programs responded differently. The first had several bilingual psychologists, one specifically assigned to work with Hispanics on a formal basis. The psychologist also was responsible to make reports, conduct follow-ups with outside agencies, and act as a liaison between the teachers and parents. The second program has an Hispanic Social Worker who is assigned informally to the assessment team. Her other responsibilities include, home consulting, working with parent needs, liaison with other agencies and working out home/school problems. Finally, the third program uses a bilingual visiting teacher on a formal basis. The other responsibilities of this individual is to check on absenteeism.

HOW DO YOU INDIVIDUALIZE FOR EACH STUDENT?

Use the IEP and take other things into consideration. Look at the degree of hearing loss, potential of child how long child is in school.

HOW ARE INTERPRETERS USED?

Three schools responded differently. The first said they used interpreters to communicate with parents. The second said they interpret what professionals say and work with the child if necessary. The last school uses the interpreter as a go-between the child and the evaluator. The interpreter gives feedback to the team on child's level of understanding and conversation.

RESULTS OF FOLLOW-UP TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

DOES YOUR INSTITUTION USE PERSONNEL WHOSE PRIMARY ROLE IS TO WORK WITH HISPANIC HEARING IMPAIRED PUPILS? WHAT IS THEIR TRAINING?

When in doubt of an institution school or program, having bilingual personnel, this question was asked. Seven programs responded to this question.

Two schools had none, one of which used interpreters. One school had Hispanic personnel, but they were responsible for all students, rather than primarily Hispanics.

The four remaining schools responded affirmatively, with training appropriate to their role, i.e., SW, parent trainer.

HOW DO YOU DETERMINE CHILD'S ABILITIES, NEEDS, EDUCATIONAL, OR FUNCTIONAL LEVEL PRIOR TO ASSESSMENT?

The five responding programs had one thing in common, they all used previous records to determine abilities, needs, and levels prior to assessment. One of the 5 schools used initial observations in addition to previous records to determine developmental level.

HOW DO YOU DETERMINE WHICH STUDENT NEEDS AN INTERPRETER FOR INTAKE AND WHICH STUDENT DOESN'T?

From public school referrals and contact with LEA prior to evaluation.

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

IN THE ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE YOU RESPONDED THAT YOU USE INTERVIEWS OF PARENTS IN YOUR EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF HISPANIC HEARING IMPAIRED CHILDREN.

WHAT WEIGHT IS GIVEN TO THIS PORTION OF THE ASSESSMENT?

Thirteen of the fourteen programs responded to the original questionnaire as such. However, the fourteenth program was later contacted and said they did use parent interviews during assessment. The results follow:

Four of the programs said parent interviews were a very important part of the assessment process. One of the four said it counted for 90% of decision on placement.

Three programs said they used it equally with data collected by testing and previous records.

One school said it counted less than their own testing, because of parents' lack of knowledge of hearing impairment, and partiality toward child. They use it as a guideline for follow-up on diagnostic testing.

Three schools used it as one part of the entire assessment process, so it counted, but not much.

Finally, three programs said it depended on a variety of factors. The factors ranged from family problems (which was used to determine referred resources), communication and parents educational background. One program discussed the problem of Hispanic parent overprotectiveness, and their limited expectations for their children which affected the use of the interview form.

ARE PARENTS INFORMED OF THE ASSESSMENT PROCEDURE?

All 14 programs responded affirmatively.

HOW ARE THEY INFORMED?

Nine of the programs responded that it was written and verbal.

One said verbal only.

Four said written only. Interestingly, three of the four translated all information, whereas one program left all information in English.

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

GENERALLY, DO THEY UNDERSTAND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THEIR RESPONSES TO THE PROCESS OF ASSESSMENT, PLACEMENT AND PROGRAMMING?

Nine of the fourteen programs unequivocally, yes. Five programs were uncertain for a variety of reasons. One program reasoned that it depended on the sophistication of the parent. Another said that the team is as sensitive as possible, but they cannot really tell. A third program said, the parents are scared stiff, and it's hard to tell. Finally, a fourth program said they normally get very little feedback from the parent.

ARE THERE TROUBLE SPOTS DURING THE ASSESSMENT PROCESS WHERE EXTRA WORK IS NECESSARY TO KEEP PARENTS INVOLVED?

Only three of the fourteen programs responded no. A fourth program said not usually, however, sometimes they must repeat mailings to non-responding families.

The other ten programs gave a variety of reasons for trouble spots. Five of the ten programs agreed that accommodating for the language difference took extra time, specifically obtaining interpreters and translating forms. One program suggested that not only was it extra work, it also cost extra money.

Four programs suggested that extra time was spent rescheduling meetings, because parents failed to show up, or a social worker had to make additional trips to the home to have unsigned forms completed.

Finally, the last program that needed extra time responded, "Because these are families in stress, not necessarily bilingual-certain families need to use community agencies (food and housing) to get to work with them. Some are a rural transient population, migrant workers, require extra work to follow them through a different grieving process. More family inservice is required. Includes the whole family and it takes longer."

WHAT INFORMATION IS GIVEN TO THE PARENT PRIOR TO THE ONSET OF ASSESSMENT?

Twelve of the fourteen programs responded with similar information. Most programs let the parents know they would be gathering information on their child. What tests would be conducted, how they were to be conducted, who would do the testing. A meeting is most often scheduled with the parents.

One of the programs responded that their state was large and parents might live up to several hundred miles away. They could not afford to come for assessment, sometimes they are not interested in coming and, furthermore, they would rather leave assessment to the professionals since the parents think they (the professionals) are the experts.

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

Two programs responded differently.

The first said, "No information is given nor asked prior to parents' signature of the consent for assessment."

The second program developed an inservice on assessment for parents. However, not many parents turned out. The respondent suggested it was because parents feel intimidated. They are overwhelmed by the weather, bus routes and daily activities leave them housebound.

WHAT ROLE DO PARENTS HAVE IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF ASSESSMENT, PLACEMENT AND PROGRAMMING?

Of the fourteen places responding to this question, only two schools said the parent has the absolute power in this decision. One program said the parent had one vote on the MDT.

All of the other eleven schools seem to present recommendations to parents and the parents have the opportunity to dispute these recommendations. They suggest that this is in accordance with regulations set forth in P.L.94-142.

WHAT INFORMATION IS GIVEN TO THE PARENT PRIOR TO THE ONSET OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING? HOW IS THIS DONE?

Again, all programs responded similarly. Either they shared all testing information with the parents or they called them in for an IEP conference. Parents were then given an opportunity to observe the recommended placement.

IS THERE AN EDUCATIONAL COMPONENT BUILT IN FOR PARENTS TO BE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THEIR CHILD'S SCHOOLING? IS IT FORMAL OR INFORMAL? IS THERE A PARENT EDUCATION PROGRAM OFFERED AT/IN YOUR DISTRICT?

Yes, said all fourteen programs.

7 formal
6 formal and informal
1 informal

Educational components for parents were sign language classes, parent newsletters, open houses, outreach programs - which sent parent educators to the home, topical meetings with speakers, parent day, PTA's, parent panel discussions, parent-infant teachers.

One program suggested that a state-run parent education program which emphasizes an Adlerian approach is in conflict with the Mexican-American culture. However, the coordinator said that it is available if the parents want it.

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

IS THERE A PARENT SUPPORT GROUP? WHAT IS ITS ROLE?

Again, all fourteen programs responded affirmatively. Some of the support groups were for a combination of exceptionalities, some only for preschool, some were with concerned professionals and/or community members, only two were strictly for Hispanics.

There were a variety of roles that the different groups took on. Most of the groups were for parents to share experiences, give emotional support to each other, and discuss child discipline.

ARE THERE ANY OTHER PARENT ORGANIZATIONS THAT TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE INTAKE PROCESS?

Eleven programs responded no. Three programs responded yes. One of the three said the organization was supported by a Spanish speaking branch of the Catholic Church. The other two advocate groups were city based, one specifically for the deaf, the other for all exceptionalities.

IS THERE AN ORIENTATION FOR PARENTS WHEN HISPANIC STUDENTS JOIN THE PROGRAM?

Thirteen said yes, one of which is a full weekend stay for parents. Most of the schools required parents attendance and strongly encouraged participation.

WHAT IS THE PERCENTAGE OF HISPANIC PARENTS PARTICIPATING IN THESE PROGRAMS? WHY DO YOU THINK THE NUMBERS ARE LIKE THAT?

Two programs misunderstood the question and data had to be eliminated. Four respondents said they did not know, and, therefore, could not answer. Of the remaining eight respondents the results were as follows:

Four programs had a very high percentage of parent participation 90-100%. This seemed to be because they were a large majority of the school population. One of the programs suggested that it was because they had a Spanish speaking principal and participation was strongly encouraged while the children are young.

Moderate turnout was indicated by two programs. The first program said they had a 40% turnout, which reflected the population at large. The second program said that they had a 50% turnout in the 0-3 program, but it drops down to 33% at the 3-6 age level. Reason for this type of turnout was tremendous Hispanic population, lack of transportation, inaccessibility of school, and parent burnout. (Parent burnout was suggested in one of the previously mentioned programs. That as the child gets older the parent has other obligations, and other children and, therefore, participates less.)

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

Two programs said that the parent participation was very limited. It depended on weather, jobs conflicting with time, language barrier, unfamiliar surrounding, bus routes, inaccessibility of school, poverty level high among group and with other children and no babysitter it was difficult to come.

It seems that when parents are in the majority, and feel comfortable with the authority figures there is a larger turnout. When parents are not comfortable and it is a hassle to come, there is less participation.

WHAT IS THE ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF THE HISPANIC CHILDREN YOU SERVE? ARE YOU GETTING ANY SPECIFIC POPULATIONS?

For the purpose of answering this question the survey was grouped by states. Four programs in one western state serve primarily a Mexican American population, there are a few students from South America, San Salvador and Cuba. Six programs in three states in the southwest also serve primarily a Mexican American population, however, there are a few Central American students.

One responding program in the southeast serves primarily a Cuban population. They are now seeing a new influx of students from Peru, Nicaragua and other South American countries.

Finally, three programs in one state in the Northeast had a variety of Hispanic populations. The most evident population is Puerto Rican, however, there are Dominicans, South Americans, Equatorians, Columbians and Nicaraguarians in these schools.

IS THE HISPANIC POPULATION ENROLLED IN YOUR SCHOOL--

a. Recent immigrants
b. Long term community members
c. Migrant workers
d. Others

One program responded don't know.
Six programs have all of the above. Two of the six had few migrant workers.

Three programs responded recent immigrants only.

One program had migrant workers only.

Two programs had both recent immigrants and long term community member.

One program had long term community members and migrant workers.

PARENT & ETHNIC COMPONENT

HOW DOES THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF HISPANICS COMPARE TO THAT OF THE REST OF YOUR ENROLLEES?

A. HERE MORE OFTEN
B. SAME
C. HERE LESS OFTEN
D. FAR MORE FREQUENT ABSENCES

Ten of the programs responded the same. Either this was because it was a residential placement or because transportation was provided.

Two programs responded here less often. One is a residential school and declared that there is a big problem around vacation time, getting the students back after a break. The other is a local school district and sensed that parents are afraid to send child to school in bad weather, primarily because of walking distance.

Two schools were unable to answer the question.

WHAT IS THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL OF THE HISPANIC POPULATION ENROLLED IN YOUR DISTRICT?

Ten of the fourteen responded lower socio-economic group, however, three of the ten said it was the entire population of the program, not limited to the Hispanics.

Two programs said lower and middle SE group.

One program said 1/3 of Hispanic students fell into lower SE group.

The fourteenth school said it was a mixture of some desperately poor, some very wealthy and a predominance of lower to middle class.

APPENDIX C

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography is organized in seven categories. In those areas most directly relevant to the intake process for hearing impaired Hispanic children we have attempted to be comprehensive and exhaustive. Other categories are intended to provide researchers in the field with an introduction to anthropological methods, cultural issues in education, methods of discourse analysis, child language development, etc.

I Decision Making Processes

Assessment:
- Language/Communication
- Psycho Educational

Placement

Institutional Constraints

II Language/Communication

Language development
Discourse
Bilingualism
Socio-cultural dimensions of language

III Education

Special education
Bilingual/bicultural education
Parent/child education
Teachers expectations/attitudes
Classroom management

IV Anthropological/Ethnographic Research on the Deaf

V Cross Cultural Issues

VI Research Theory and Methodology

VII Needs Assessment

I Decision Making Processes

Christenson, S., Graden, J., Potter, M., Taylor, J., Yanowitz, B., & Ysseldyke, J. (1981). Current Research on psychoeducational assessment and decision making: Implications for training and practice (Monograph No. 16). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

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I. DECISION MAKING PROCESSES

Assessment:

Lang/Communication
Psycho Educational

Placement

Institutional Constraints

Christenson, S., Graden, J., Potter, M., Taylor, J., Yanowitz, B., & Ysseldyke, J. 1981 . Current Research on psychoeducational assessment and decision making: Implications for training and practice (Monograph No. 16). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

The University of Minnesota Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities is under contract with the federal government to conduct research on improving assessment and decision making processes. This monograph addresses the need for documentation of current practices. A number of studies utilizing various methodologies (simulation of the decision making process, psychometric assessment of students, surveys, videotapes of placement teams, longitudinal case studies, reviews of student records) have been conducted to examine the state of the art in educational assessment and decision making. The results presented represent a synthesis of findings across studies utilizing varying sample sizes and methodologies.

A large number of assessment devices were selected and/or reported to be used by decision makers. There was great diversity among the devices used, and many of the devices were technically inadequate for the purpose at hand. Adequacy was judged on the basis of the criteria for norms, validity, and reliability set forth in APA Standards (1974).

Educators had difficulty differentiating low achievers from learning disabled students when using psychometric information. Students with an average psychometric profile were frequently classified as mentally retarded, learning disabled, and/or emotionally disturbed and said to be eligible for special education services.

The researchers found that of all the information available to decision makers, the referral statement is often a major determinant of the final decision. However, it is important to note that this result was based on information gathered from individual decision makers. While the input of individuals is an influential part of the decision-making process, placement decisions are now made by multi-disciplinary teams of school personnel.

Most time in placement team meetings is spent in describing and discussing data about the student. These data are often derived from technically inadequate devices and often do not relate to the final decision made.

Not all team members actively participate in all aspects of the decision-making process. Usually these less active team members are teachers and parents.

Taylor, a state director of special education services, concluded that, "faulty evaluations may lead to inappropriate placements of children in both special and regular education." He further implied that state departments follow trends in identification of exceptional pupils and so do the training programs in education and psychology. Taylor suggests that "one must be very skeptical of the results of any research study that used already identified children as one population."

Fuchs, D., Dailey, A. M., & Fuchs, L. S. 1982 . Examiner familiarity & the relation between qualitative & quantitative indices of expressive language (Research Report No. 83). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

A previous investigation demonstrated that speech- and/or language-impaired preschoolers were more fluent on an expressive language task when tested by familiar examiners than when tested by unfamiliar examiners. Post-hoc analyses were conducted to determine (a) whether subjects' expressive language also was semantically and syntactically more complex in the familiar examiner condition, and (b) whether the quality of spoken language was related to fluency. An 18-category scale, consisting of syntactic characteristics and semantic relations, was used to measure semantic/syntactic complexity of the subjects' descriptions of two pictures from Tester's Teaching Picture Series.

The student subjects for the study were 34 preschool children whose speech and/or language functioning represented a moderate to profound handicap. All the students attended a city-wide preschool program for handicapped 4 and 5 year old pupils. The subjects'mean CA was 4.9. There were 21 male and 13 female students. All but two of the subjects scored within the normal range on individually administered intelligence tests.

Examiner subjects were two classroom teachers (familiar) and four strangers (unfamiliar). All were female, certified in early childhood education, and had previous experience working with children in educational settings. Results indicated that subjects demonstrated significantly richer descriptive language, as well as greater fluency, in the familiar examiner condition. Handicapped preschool children used a greater number of non-repetitive, intelligible words to describe illustrations when interacting with familiar rather than unfamiliar testers. The students total semantic/syntactic complexity score and their complexity score on accurate statements also were greater in the familiar examiner condition. In addition, the children used a greater number of different semantic/syntactic categories with the familiar tester.

The researchers suggest, "if familiarity with the examiner significantly enhances subjects' performance on tasks requiring a higher level of symbolic mediation, one might expect select populations of children to perform differently on intelligence and personality measures that require frequent exercise of sophisticated verbal reasoning." They concluded, "differential performance might not be expected on formal assessment instruments demanding relatively low levels of symbolic mediation, such as tests of articulation, visual perception, immediate recall, and auditory discrimination."

Fuchs, D., Fuchs, L.S., Dailey, A.M., & Power, M.H. 1983 . Effects of pretest contact with experienced and inexperienced examiners on handicapped children's performance (Research Report No. 10). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether experienced examiners need to become personally familiar with their examinees in order to facilitate valid test performance. Subjects were 22 handicapped preschoolers; examiners were either professionally familiar (experienced, speech clinicians,N=11), or unfamiliar (inexperienced, early childhood educators,N=11) with this group of children. Subjects were assigned randomly to one of these two examiner groups. Within their examiner group, children again were assigned randomly to two examiners, one to serve as a personally familiar tester and the other to function as an unfamiliar tester. Children then were examined within the context of a one between (professional familiarity or unfamiliarity) repeated measures (personal familiarity and unfamiliarity) crossover design. All examiners participated in both personally familiar and unfamiliar conditions. Additionally, to explore possible differences in the subjects' test performance across these conditions, measures of the testers' cognitive complexity and attitudes toward the handicapped were obtained.

Results indicated that subjects performed more strongly when tested by personally familiar examiners regardless of whether the testers were professionally familiar or unfamiliar. The finding that personal familiarity is more important even when testers are professionally familiar with the population poses serious questions in the assumption of whether experienced testers can elicit optimal and valid test performance when they limit their personal pretest contact with examinees. Therefore, invalid information for selecting or evaluating educational programs may be generated. The researchers suggest the need for test constructors to become more prescriptive in their manuals about the importance of examiners' personal pretest contact with examinees from select groups.

Secondly, (a) there was no difference between professionally familiar and unfamiliar testers' cognitive complexity or attitude toward the handicapped, and (b) both examiner groups described the handicapped relatively simplistically and negatively. Modifying the typical testing procedure to reduce the potential negative effects of such preconceived stereotypes is necessary. The study indicates that an effective modification would be to require examinees to become personally familiar with examinees. The preceding results may explain partially the finding that professional familiarity with handicapped students was a poor substitute for personal familiarity.

Fuchs, D., Zern, D. S., Fuchs, L. S. 1982 . A microanalysis of participant behavior in familiar and unfamiliar test conditions (Research Report No. 70). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

A study was conducted, using 15 students enrolled in an urban special education program. Their mean age was 4.7, 60% were male and they had spent an average of 8.1 months in their present classroom. There were six examiners. Familiar examiners were the classroom teachers of the examinees, and as such, they shared a long-term acquaintanceship with the subjects. Unfamiliar examiners were strangers to the children, however, they were certified in early childhood education and had several years of experience working with preschool children.

A microanalysis was conducted of the behaviors of examiners and handicapped children during videotaped testing sessions in which handicapped students performed better with familiar than with unfamiliar examiners. The children spoke significantly more often and longer when tested by the familiar examiners. Familiar examiners (a) exercised more frequent and longer intervals of silence than unfamiliar examiners, (b) often appeared to use eye contact with examinees as a cue in deciding when to speak whereas unfamiliar examiners rarely utilized this cue, (c) employed largely directive language in contrast to unfamiliar examiners' speech that more frequently was participatory in nature, and (d) spoke for a shorter duration than unfamiliar examiners.

These differences between familiar and unfamiliar examiners' behavior provided clues for understanding why differential test performance occurred. Examiners and examinees interact in a bi-directional, dynamic, and creative process which leads to the child's test performance. The test performance can be seen as a social accomplishment of both the examinee and the examiner.

Fuchs, D., Fuchs, L. S., Power, M. H., & Dailey, A.M. 1983 . Systematic bias in the assessment of handicapped children (Research Report No. 134). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

Prior research demonstrates that examiner unfamiliarity negatively affects the optimal performance of handicapped preschoolers. The present investigation sought to determine whether examiner unfamiliarity also interferes with the optimal performance of handicapped school-age pupils and nonhandicapped children. Sixty-four subjects (16 language-handicapped and 16 nonhandicapped preschoolers and 16 language-handicapped and 16 nonhandicapped school-age students) were tested twice during a period of 2 weeks, once by a familiar examiner and once by an unfamiliar examiner. There were 32 examiners. All were trained as speech clinicians. Each examiner was matched randomly with one of the four study sites, and each of eight examiners per site was assigned randomly to four subjects, two with whom they became personally familiar and two to whom they remained strangers. In this way, examiners served both familiar and unfamiliar roles, thereby controlling for potentially confounding effects of testers' personality.

A significant interaction was obtained for examiner familiarity and handicapped status, indicating that whereas nonhandicapped subjects scored similarly when tested by familiar and unfamiliar examiners, handicapped children scored higher with the familiar tester. Thus, findings indicated that examiner unfamiliarity negatively affects both language-handicapped preschool and school-age children's performance relative to a normative population. The absence of an interaction between familiarity and CA or among familiarity, handicapping condition, and CA suggests there may be something about a child's handicap, irrespective of CA, that promotes differential test performance. Such a causitive influence may originate within the child; however, it also may be rooted in (a) examiners' attitudes and behaviors directed toward handicapped children or (b) an interaction between the perceptions and actions of examiner and handicapped examinees.

Handicapped children's test performance, appears to be selectively depressed, thereby indicating that an examiner's unfamiliarity constitutes a negatively, systematically biasing condition and threatens the validity of handicapped students' test performance.

Goldberg, S.S. 1986 . Reimbursing parents for unilateral placements in private special education schools. Exceptional Children, 52(4), 390-94.

Parents placed their child in a private special education program without school approval. Two legal questions arose from this action: First, is a parent legally precluded from unilaterally placing his or her child? Second, if the private placement is eventually approved, may the parent obtain reimbursement for an education provided during the course of adjudication?

If an IEP is challenged by parents or if school officials want to change any aspect of a program being sought or provided, the procedural protections under PL94-142 are begun. Because appeals may take several years to conclude, a child may be required to remain in an inappropriate placement during extensive litigation.

The Supreme Court ruled that "the act was intended to give handicapped children both an appropriate education and a free one; it should not be interpreted to defeat one or the other of those objectives" (p. 2004). 'However, the court warned that parents who place children unilaterally do so at their own financial risk.'

Kessler, M. E. 1983 , Parent diary: A technique for sampling the expressive language of hearing-impaired children. Volta Review, 85(1), 105-115.

A parent diary was used as a baseline component of an assessment of a 26-month-old hearing-impaired child's expressive language. The diary data were used to obtain information about the child's expressive vocabulary, mean length of utterance, and verbal, semantic, and pragmatic performances. This approach to assessment is desired because the usual reluctance of infants and young children to display their typical communication behaviors in the presence of strangers. Also, clinicians are only able to observe the students infrequently and for short periods of time.

The data from the diary enabled clinicians to estimate the subject's level of expressive language by comparing his performance to normative data. The comparison indicated that he was functioning at approximately his listening age phonologically and slightly above his listening age in mean length of utterance, rate of vocabulary growth, size of vocabulary, and number of different semantic categories expressed. The only category of expressive language that appeared to be slightly below chronological age was number of verbal conversational intents. Additionally, the subject's expressive skills were evaluated against the performance data of other hearing-impaired children. The Scales of Early Communication Skills for Hearing Impaired Children were used for these comparisons. The results indicated that the student-subject was in the 99th percentile for hearing-impaired children between the ages of 24 and 35 months.

The authors suggested that this type of data gathering is important to make judgements concerning overall programming. It was important for this student since his program emphasized optimal auditory input and optimal language-learning environment in the home.

Langdon, H. W. 1983 . Assessment and intervention strategies for the bilingual language-disordered student. Exceptional Children, 50(1), 37-46.

Since the mid-1970's, increasing attention has been given to the non-native English-speaking student who has had difficulty keeping up with students of similar social and linguistic backgrounds. The focus of this article is on language assessment, identification of a language disorder, and intervention techniques for the non-English or limited-English-proficient (NEP or LEP) student. Langdon's purpose in presenting this paper is to give an overview of specific areas that will facilitate the assessment and remediation process of an NEP/LEP child who may have a language disorder.

Testing an NEP/LEP student is to assess his or her proficiency in the native language and compare it with his/her performance in the second language. This procedure assists in determining whether lack of proficiency in the 2nd language is due to a general language disorder or is a reflection of a second language-acquisition process. Langdon suggests that an interview with the youngster's guardian be conducted, as well as a review of the student's school record.

The number of normed instruments available to assess NEP or LEP students is slowly increasing in specific languages, primarily Spanish. These instruments are either translations of existing English tests or Spanish versions developed independently which include normative data. When commercial materials are unavailable, translations or adaptations of existing instruments may be used. Preferably, the assessment should be conducted by an examiner fluent in the students language. Often professionals in less commonly used languages are not limited, therefore, help from adequately trained interpreters is needed to validate the results.

Also included in the article is a study which describes and compares the language performance of a group of bilingual Spanish/English-speaking children, considered to have a language disorder, with a group of children judged to be progressing normally in their acquisition of both languages. The results indicated that language-disordered group could be characterized by the following features: the group made significantly more errors in each task and language except for auditory discrimination in English; its performance was less consistent across tasks; it showed lower language skills in Spanish than any of the two languages compared to the normally developing groups; its performance on receptive-type tasks was equally poor in both English and Spanish; it evidenced difficulty in performing tasks that required various processing strategies, this being sometimes more evident in Spanish than English; and it had difficulty benefiting from a language model as evidenced in one of the articulation tasks.

Intervention strategies are recommended. For children with low test results in the native language, it is advisable that the child not be simultaneously instructed in English. It is preferable that specific training in language skills be given in the native language first when feasible. Langdon suggests that, when the child has attained greater skills in their native language, he or she could be slowly introduced to English. Having a sound basis in one language will enhance learning of the other.

Luetke-Stahlman, B. 1982 . A philosophy for assessing the language proficiency of hearing impaired students to promote English literacy. American Annals of the Deaf, 127(7), 844-51.

The purpose of this article, is to review the oral bilingual literature to be able to define bilingual language ability in hearing impaired students, and to review some basic concepts of oral bilingual proficiency assessment as they apply in the field of hearing impairment. Bilingualism, in the field of hearing impairment, is referred to as the use of two distinct natural languages (Swedish sign language and oral/or manual English), while "bimodalism" refers to two modalities (e.g., an oral, manual, or written mode of language) of communication.

Placement of a hearing bilingual child is determined on the basis of a child's age and language proficiency in the dominant societal language. Tests of language proficiency are administered to such students and English-dominant students are placed in English-only classrooms, and bilingual and minority-language dominant children are placed in bilingual classrooms. However, when a youngster with a hearing impairment enters school, rarely is an assessment made of the child's oral alone, simultaneous communication (vocal, sign, gesture, etc.) or sign alone language skills. Instead, placement is determined on the basis of the child's age and the parents preference to sign or oral instruction.

Given the need for language and/or system (L/S) proficiency testing in the field of hearing impairment, tasks for hearing impaired subjects should be designed to assess both composition and ability of first L/S cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). Since the composition of first language CALP in hearing-impaired students may include oral English, English paired with sign, and sign alone, it is important to assess a child's facility with each of these L/S.

Luetke-Stahlman suggests that as hearing people begin to respect sign language as the language of the hearing-impaired, the next step would be for parents and educators to understand the value of using sign as a base language on which to teach English literacy skills. She suggests that educators in the field of hearing impairment should evaluate both the language and/or system (L/S) proficiency of hearing-impaired students and the research from the field of bilingual education concerned with effectively using a first language to teach a second language. In her review of the research, she cited Cummins (1979, 1980) who found hearing majority language (oral English only) students obtained English proficiency with no adverse effects when instructed via the minority language, "It makes no sense to transfer any student into an English-only classroom." This finding, when applied to instruction for the hearing-impaired, suggests that sign alone should be provided to all hearing-impaired students and would cause no negative effect in their learning.

Luetke-Stahlman, B. & Weiner, F. F. 1982 . Assessing language and/or system preferences of Spanish-deaf preschoolers. American Annals of the Deaf, Vol. 127, 789-796.

Three Spanish deaf females enrolled in a nursery program for hearing-impaired preschoolers were taught receptive vocabulary in oral English, English sign-mix, oral Spanish, Spanish sign-mix, and sign alone. The language and/or systems (L/S) that were selected were those readily available in school programs educating hearing-impaired children from Spanish-speaking homes. The children attended school for approximately 5 hours a day and engaged in structured activities aimed primarily at language development.

To determine the relative efficiencies of the 5 L/S in facilitating various language behaviors, a modification of a multiple baseline design was utilized. Five input languages and/or systems were used to teach various vocabulary skills. Other vocabulary items from each of the five L/S were withheld from treatment to serve as a probe control.

The results of this investigation reveal that the three subjects demonstrated three different L/S preferences for learning noun, verb, and adjective vocabulary items. Subject 1 learned best using sign alone. Subject 2 performed best using oral Spanish or sign alone. Subject 3 appeared to benefit from sign, Spanish sign-mix, or oral English.

This study illustrated that neither heritage nor etiological classification dictate a specific language used by Spanish deaf students. When assessing deaf children from minority backgrounds considerations of whether one or both primary caretakers are Spanish speakers; amount of exposure to sign language and/or systems at home or in school; the child's degree of hearing loss; and which language and/or system the child demonstrates as the most beneficial in learning school tasks.

Poland, S., Ysseldyke, J., Thurlow, M., & Mirkin, P. 1979 . Current assessment and decision-making practices in school setting as reported by directors of special education (Research Report No. 14). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

Questionnaire data from 100 directors of special education were analyzed to characterize the manner in which decisions are made about learning disabled children in school settings. Information was obtained on the membership of teams making screening, placement, and instructional planning decisions, the major steps in the assessment and decision-making process, factors thought to influence the outcome of team meetings, and major problems faced by directors in implementing the decision-making process.

The process of assessment and decision making as described by directors of special education was multidisciplinary, and decision-making teams were made up of a variety of individuals. Team membership was a function of the type of decision being made. A major concern shared by directors was the amount of time the IEP process required to complete and the difficulties in meeting times for those participating.

Basic steps agreed upon among directors in the assessment-decision making process were referral, assessment, development of the IEP, and implementation of the program. Directors differed in the extent to which they indicated that parents were involved. In some cases eligibility and placement decisions occurred in the same meeting and parents were included in both decisions. However, other directors described a process in which the two decisions were clearly separated and parents were present only for placement decisions.

Information provided by the classroom teacher concerning the child's classroom achievement was identified as the most important factor influencing the outcome of the process. Closely following in importance was information from the child's parents or guardians.

One study finding indicates that directors did not differentiate between the different test-based sources of data. Achievement, perceptual-motor, psycholinguistic, and intelligence test data received about equal mean ratings.

The results indicated that although most directors agreed on some components of the process, there was considerable variation in their descriptions of how the process is carried out.

Prasse, D.P. & Reschly, D.J. 1986 . Larry P.: A case of segregation, testing, or program efficacy? Exceptional Children, 52(4), 333-346.

Larry P. is an enormously complicated court decision with vast implications for educational practices. The case involved the disproportionate number of Black children placed in classes for the mildly retarded, resulting in segregation. The result of this discrimination was inappropriate placement of Black children in classes for the mildly retarded, easily substantiated by the following statistics. In the San Francisco school district at that time, Blacks made up 28.5% of all students in the school system, however, 66% of all students in the EMR program were Black. The entire state of California was experiencing a similar situation. Almost 25% of all children in the state EMR classes were Black while only 10% of the school population was Black.

The court decided in favor of the plaintiffs on both statutory and constitutional grounds. The court concluded that the state had been involved in purposeful discrimination demonstrating an intent to segregate minority children into special education classes. The court described the classes as dead end, isolated, substandard, and stigmatizing. The assessment and placement procedures were to blame. According to the decision of the court, the use of standardized intelligence tests causes racial and cultural bias. Historically, intelligence testing in special education programs indicated an unlawful segregation attempt.

Outcomes of the trial are significant. Noncategorical special education services are acceptable to plaintiffs in the case and now being made available. Overrepresentation of minority students is largely restricted to programs for the mildly retarded, and underrepresentation of these students in programs for the learning disabled. Non categorical special education percentages of minority and majority students does not differ. Mild mental retardation classification is being reformed. Finally, assessment means are being scrutinized to include other than intelligence testing for placement purposes.

Thurlow, M. L., & Ysseldyke, J. E. 1980 . Factors influential on the psychoeducational decisions reached by teams of educators (Research Report No. 25). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

Five-hundred and thirty-six individuals participated in four separate studies to determine the factors which influenced the decisions they made about the educational placement of a child.

A computer simulation of the decision-making process was used in the first investigation. Two-hundred and twenty-four volunteers, all educational personnel from the greater Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area, who had served on at least two placement teams, completed the simulated decision-making exercise.

Study number two, used a questionnaire methodology. Eighty-nine directors of special education from 49 states representing school districts of varying size and type of community responded to the survey.

The third study involved 159 members of placement teams in Minnesota and North Dakota. Data were collected from team members immediately following a team meeting.

The fourth investigation utilized a self-report methodology. Sixty-four practicing school psychologists or educational diagnosticians from Virginia were asked on the basis of their experience, to report the extent to which specific kinds of test information and specific student characteristics influenced outcome decisions.

In all four studies the subjects were asked to state the extent to which specific test scores and information and specific student characteristics had influenced their decisions. Subjects in study #1 responded to the question on a computer terminal. Participants in studies #2, #3, and #4 responded in a paper and pencil format.

The results of the current investigation indicate that academic scores had a much greater influence on the decision of educational placement than did child characteristics. When considering academic scores, achievement and intelligence scores were rated as having the greatest influence.

All groups indicated that the influence of child characteristics on placement and prognostic decisions was minimal. However, analysis of the influence of these factors by computer simulation subjects revealed that information on a child's sex, SES, physical appearance, and referral problem did influence the decision reached.

The researchers' findings imply that the decision makers may not realize that many factors do influence their decisions. They suggest that decision makers be involved in training programs which addresses this issue.

Wood, F. H., Johnson, J. L., & Jenkins, J. R. 1986 .
The Lora case: Nonbiased referral, assessment, and placement procedures. Exceptional Children, 52(4), 323-331.

Isaac Lora et al. v. The Board of Education of the City of New York et al. was a suit filed on behalf of Black and Hispanic students in the New York City public schools who were placed in special day school programs because of severe emotional disturbance which had resulted in acting out and aggressive behavior in the classroom. The suit was filed to correct abuses in the identification and placement of Black and Hispanic students disabled by emotional disturbance. The final judgement was rendered nine years after the inception of the case.

The plaintiffs argued that the case involved essentially constitutional issues: racial discrimination and the denial of educational rights. The student population of the New York City public schools was 36% Black, 23% Hispanic, and 41% other in 1977. In special day schools for the severely emotionally disturbed, the student population was composed of 68% Black, 27% Hispanic, and 5% other.

The stated purpose of the special day schools was to provide rehabilitative educational experiences for acting out, aggressive students whose disruptive behavior in regular education settings justified their placement in more restrictive school environments. Witnesses criticized the schools for their failure to provide curriculum and supplementary services consistent with their goals. The existing referral and placement procedures were attacked as denying due process to students and frequent misclassification.

An earlier class action suit (Riley Reid v. Board, 1971) filed on behalf of all handicapped children in N.Y.C. charged that these children were being deprived of their right to an appropriate education by prolonged delays before being assessed following referral. During these delays, they received little or no education. Testimony during the Lora case agreed that the Riley Reid orders permitted knowledgeable parents and guardians to obtain placements they desired for their children, i.e., remaining in the regular class or being placed in a private school of the parents' choice at public expense. However, because of cultural and economic factors a disproportionate number of White students ended up in private school settings. "The system works extremely well for those who can use it."

The article summarizes Appendix A of the final judgement which defines standards and procedures for nondiscriminatory assessment and decision making. Important among them are the guarantee for both students and parents to due process rights related to linguistic, cultural, or ethnic differences. The students' right to the least restrictive setting where appropriate education is assured, assessment and placement should be done by well trained professionals sensitized to watch for bias in their procedures and data, taking professional responsibility. The Board is responsible for providing staff with the training needed to make appropriate decisions, and finally the court and counsel for the plaintiffs have the right to reopen the case if necessary.

Ysseldyke, J. E., Algozzine, B., & Thurlow, M. (Ed.). 1980 . A naturalistic investigation of special education team meetings (Research Report No. 40). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

Placement team decision making for learning disabled students was studied in a naturalistic investigation of 38 meetings in 16 school districts in Minnesota using both observation and videotaping procedures. The units of investigation were team meetings conducted in schools for the purpose of making placement decisions about a student. None of the meetings was contrived in any way; the decisions reached by team members were real and were to be implemented for actual students.

The results describe a number of typical occurrences during placement team decision making. The first major finding highlights characteristics of meetings, included characteristics: The purpose of the meeting was seldom stated by team members; and there almost never was a statement of the decision(s) to be reached; more time was spent in meetings describing needs than in generating alternative solutions to problems; the roles of team members were never clearly defined; there was never a statement made encouraging participation by individuals; parents were never asked their understanding of the purpose of the meeting nor their expectations regarding the meeting; parental input was requested occasionally during meetings, usually in verification of an observed problem; the researchers felt that only 27% of the meetings were conducted at a language level that parents could understand; "least restrictive environment" was never explicitly stated, nor was the concept used in making placement decisions; in 81% of the meetings there was a clear effort to relate the data to the nature of the problem; in 75% of the meetings pupil strengths were discussed; data on everyday classroom performance were considered in addition to psychometric and edumetric data; and although decisions were made in 88% of the meetings the researchers were unable to determine the specific nature of the decision or ascertain who made the decision.

The second finding of the study describes time spent on discussing specific factors in the placement team meeting. Over 20% of the time was spent on academic characteristics of the child, 10% of the time was given to behavioral descriptions, and 0-1% of the time was spent describing students' physical status or problems. Almost half of the time was spent discussing assessment information.

The results of the investigation of amount and type of participation in placement team meetings is as follows: regular classroom teachers participated slightly; the principal, special education teacher, and school psychologist were much more actively involved in proposing service options than the regular education teacher and the parent; teachers and parents were more actively involved in initiation of goals and method statements than in proposing placement options.

Post-meeting views of the participants suggested considerable consensus regarding desired members of the team (reg. class teachers, LD teachers, school psychologists), adequacy of time spent preparing for the meeting, activities (presenting data and making comments on data) engaged in, factors felt to influence outcome (data factors having greatest influence; child characteristics having least), and participants were satisfied with meeting outcomes, 65% feeling that their view of the child had not changed significantly as a result of the meeting.

Ysseldyke, J. E., & Regan, R. R. 1979 . Nondiscriminatory assessment and decision making: Embedding assessment in the intervention process (Monograph No. 7). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

The efforts to comply with the Protection in Evaluation Procedures Provisions of Public Law 94-142 have been characterized by attempts to identify the fair test for use with specific groups of minority children. Based on a review of similar efforts in the history of psychology, the authors conclude that such activities will not result in improved efforts to eliminate bias in assessment. Instead, they emphasize that bias can and does occur throughout the process of making decisions for and about handicapped students.

Defining assessment as the process of collecting data for the purpose of making decisions about pupils, the authors conceptualize a model in which instructional decisions are made using data on the history of intervention effectiveness with individual students. Operationalization of an instructional cascade would be useful.

In this arrangement, labeling, as a factor in the assessment of an appropriate educational program and level(s) of service(s) to be provided, is used primarily as an administrative convenience. Systematic documentation of pupil progress throughout levels of the cascade are proposed as alternatives to current norm-referenced decision-making practices.

The essential advantage of the proposed approach is the kind of data used in decision making. The task of developing individual instructional plans with access to data on interventions that have or have not worked previously, are considerably more relevant to intervention planning than are data in the form of scores on norm-referenced tests. Additionally, consistency across schools, districts and states could be facilitated by adopting systematic procedures for initiating differentiated instruction and documenting intervention effectiveness at each level of service.

Ysseldyke, J. E., Thurlow, M. L., Graden, J. L., Wesson, C., Deno, S. L., and Algozzine, B. 1982 . Generalizations from five years of research on assessment and decision making (Research report No. 100). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

Five years of research findings on assessment and decision making for LD students are summarized through 14 generalizations. The generalizations deal with the issues of (a) who to refer for psychoeducational evaluation, (b) who to declare eligible for LD services, (c) how to plan specific instructional interventions for individuals, (d) how to evaluate the extent to which pupils are profiting from instruction, and (e) how to evaluate the effectiveness of particular instructional programs. Assessment has been defined as a process of collecting data for the purpose of making decisions about individuals.

The generalizations are simplified as follows: (1) Currently, the special education team decision-making process is inconsistent; (2) placement decisions are more a function of naturally-occurring pupil characteristics than they are data based; (3) many non-handicapped students are being certified as eligible for special education services; (4) the assessment process is becoming increasingly sophisticated, to defend student eligibility for LD services; (5) when students are identified as LD, it depended on the criteria used; (6) there are no reliable psychometric differences between students labeled LD and those considered to be low achievers, large numbers of students are failing to acquire academic and social skills; (7) the most important decision is by the regular classroom teacher, once a child is referred, there is a high probability that the student will be assessed and placed in special education; (8) even though LD students receive more individual instruction, they do not spend any more time engaged in active academic responding than do regular students; (9) most tests currently used in the psychoeducational decision-making process are technically inadequate, although there exists adequate norm-referenced tests; (10) the researchers found that psychologists and special education teachers given profiles of scores on psychometric measures are able to differentiate between low-achieving students and students labeled LD with only 50% accuracy; (11) the use of simple curriculum-based measures such as performance in reading, spelling, and written expression can be measured validly and reliably in as little as 1 to 3 minutes and provides a viable alternative to lengthy assessments currently administered; (12) student performance can be improved by collecting and utilizing data frequently and systematically; (13) it is somewhat difficult to train teachers to evaluate student performance data and make educational decisions based on the data, whereas little training is necessary to train teachers to measure student performance; (14) given that 1-minute sample measures of reading, spelling, and written expression reliably differentiate between LD resource program students and regular class students, they should be used for referral and assessment decisions.

The findings of the research lead to several implications for improvement in current assessment and decision-making practices. "One implication for an alternative to current practices is to implement classroom based interventions at the point of referral; rather than the current practice of referral leading to placement." Another result of the research suggests that time and resources would be spent more appropriately in teaching and instructing rather than in testing and labeling. A third major implication of the research is the need to consider alternative approaches to decision making given the significant problems of current practices.

II. LANGUAGE/COMMUNICATION

Language Development

Discourse

Bilingualism

Socio-Cultural Dimension of Language

Bornstein, Harry. 1977. Sign Language in the Education of the Deaf. In I. M. Schlesinger and L. Namir (eds.), Sign Language of the Deaf. New York: Academic Press, pp. 333-361.

B. argues for the use of some variant of Signed English or Pidgin Signed English in the education of the deaf, and that hearing parents should begin using this with the child as soon as the hearing loss is discovered. B. notes that adequate research regarding the influence of learning different sign variants (ASL, Pidgin Signed English, Signed English) is lacking. His argument is couched in practical terms. Hearing parents and teachers cannot be expected to acquire full facility with ASL. Most deaf children (about 90%) have hearing parents. And, "since reading and writing are perhaps the most important skills acquired in school, it will be even more difficult for teachers to consider Sign seriously".

B. notes, however, that Sign has great "expressiveness and power," and that most deaf children will make an increased use of more Sign - or ASL - like varieties as they grow into adulthood. Nevertheless, he believes that "a Sign English approach will offer a higher probability of success for more children".

This article is a useful introduction to the complexities of the educational issues regarding Sign language varieties and their use in classrooms. The tentativeness with which the argument is presented shows the need for more research on the varieties of Sign language, their use in school and home, their effects on learning English literacy, and their social and cultural dimensions. This latter aspect is not taken up by B.

Collins-Ahlgren, M. 1975 . Language development of two deaf children. American Annals of the Deaf, 20(6), 524-39.

Two deaf girls were selected for longitudinal study. The first subject is of hearing parents. She does not respond to audiometric stimuli aided or unaided. At 17 months of age she was enrolled in a pre-school program for deaf infants and her family began to learn manual communication. The second subject has deaf parents. Her hearing loss is profound. She has been exposed to total communication by her parents from 8 months of age when her hearing loss was detected. Both children appear to have above normal intelligence as measured by the Leiter and Merill Palmer scales.

The parents and author periodically recorded the subjects' expressive language from their 16th through 44th month. Initially, the subjects' descriptive words related to their comfort or the avoidance of discomfort and danger and to control behavior. Words with semantic specifiers relating to their expanding self-concept and their outside world followed. A case grammar analysis suggests that these deaf children are developing language equivalent to that of their hearing peers.

Cummins, J. 1979 . Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. Review of Educational Research, 49(2), 222-251.

Through this paper a cognitively and academically beneficial form of bilingualism is discussed. Cummins suggests that beneficial bilingualism can only be achieved once first language skills are adequately developed. He forms two hypothesis to support this position. The "developmental interdependence" hypothesis speculates that competence in a second language can be developed partially as a function of the type of competence already developed in the first language at the time when the second language exposure begins. Another theory, the "threshold" hypothesis supports the notion that there may be threshold levels of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of bilingualism to influence his cognitive and academic functioning. These hypotheses are integrated into a model of bilingual education in which educational outcomes are explained as a function of the interaction between background, child input and educational treatment factors.

Griswold, L. E., & Commings, J. 1974 . The expressive vocabulary of preschool deaf children. American Annals of the Deaf, 119(1), 16-28.

This study focuses upon the expressive vocabulary of preschool deaf children. The ultimate goal of the research was to collect and publish a list of words most commonly found in the vocabularies of young deaf children. Additionally, the study had two other purposes. The first was to relate the variables of age, time in preschool program, and exposure to total communication in the home to the size of individual vocabularies. Secondly, a comparison of the preschool deaf children's vocabularies was made with vocabulary data reported for hearing children of the same age.

Nineteen deaf children enrolled in the preschool program of the Maryland School for the Deaf were the study subjects. They ranged in age from 1 year 9 months to 4 years six and a ½ months. Time in the program ranged from 2 months to 1 year 9 months. All children were of at least average intelligence.

The preschool program's emphasis is on parent education; parents are taught ways of helping their deaf child develop communication skills. The Maryland School incorporates a full spectrum of language modes: child-devised gestures; formal sign-language; speech; speechreading; fingerspelling; reading, and writing into the preschool program.

When each of the 19 children entered the program, their mothers were asked to keep a notebook of the vocabulary items used by the child. The resulting individual vocabulary lists were cumulative over the period the child was in the program. For reasons of availability and practicality, only 1 vocabulary was collected per child.

The combined expressive vocabularies of the 19 children in the sample yielded a total of 493 different words. The average expressive vocabulary size of these children is smaller than that of hearing children of the same age. Vocabulary size for these deaf preschoolers did not show a clear cut positive relationship to age, although length of time in preschool program and amount of total communication used in the home did seem to be consistently and positively related to vocabulary size. In composition the vocabularies in the sample resembled those of hearing preschoolers in proportion of nouns and verbs, number and specific prepositions used, use of numbers, and specific question words used, while differing from them in relative lack of connectives, articles, and auxiliary/modal verbs.

McKirdy, L. S., & Blank, M. 1982 . Dialogue in deaf & hearing preschoolers. Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, 25, 487-499.

The language interactions of pairs of same-sex preschool-age deaf (12 male, 12 female) same-sex and preschool-age hearing children (12 male, 12 female) were recorded in play sessions. These sessions were videotaped for 15 minutes and were then analyzed according to a system for assessing dialogue. In the system, each person over the course of a dialogue is seen as playing two roles: one as speaker-initiator (who puts forth ideas), the other as speaker-responder (who responds to the ideas that have been put forth by the partner in the dialogue). The research questions are as follows:

1. What levels of language complexity do the children produce in the speaker-initiator-role and respond to in the speaker-responder role?

2. How successful are the children in effecting adequate responses from their partners?

3. How successful are the children in maintaining a sustained dialogue?

Analysis of the dialogues revealed that the amount of communication that took place between the hearing and deaf children differed markedly. The results indicated that both roles were used by the deaf and the hearing dyads, but their pattern of performance was different.

As speaker-initiators, the deaf children displayed a narrower range of complexity in their utterances. Additionally, in the 15-min. period a deaf dyad on average initiated 27 conversational turns whereas a hearing dyad initiated 57 conversational turns, which showed a statistically significant difference. As speaker-responders, the deaf children were less likely to respond to utterances of their partners, particularly those utterances in the form of comments, and they more readily showed difficulties in responding appropriately as their partner's initiations increased in complexity. The authors write, "Increasing rates of responsivity to comments are a sign of increased sophistication in verbal communication. If the same is true in sign, then the deaf children would seem to be at an earlier stage of language functioning than are their hearing counterparts." In general, the children had greater difficulties as responders than as initiators.

The authors conclude, "The evaluation of language within a communication framework is relevant to issues of training and instruction." "If one focuses solely on quality of verbal initiations as a measure of a child's language skill, then the difficulties that can be experienced in the responder role can easily be overlooked."

Preisler, Gunilla. 1981. Modification of Communication by a Small Deaf Girl. American Annals of the Deaf (June 1981), 411-416.

P. videotaped a 4-year-old Swedish deaf girl of hearing parents in four communicative situations; with her mother, her teacher, her younger deaf sister, and her best friend who is also deaf. P. found the child, Sara, shifted both the manner of sign presentation and linguistic form and content in different situations. With mother and teacher, Sara signed slowly and articulated each word. When communicating with her younger deaf sister, she slowed down even more, and also used a language teaching strategy: "This is a...," then providing a sign. With her peer, also a competent signer, Sara used a mix of "sign language interspersed with signed Swedish". She used mimicry, pantomime and body movement. The content of the conversation was much richer. Neither child, both of whom had hearing parents, had had extensive contact with deaf adults, yet both "used many of the rules and expressions of the sign language of the deaf". The specific rules and expressions used by the children are not described.

Stokoe, William. 1979. Language and the Deaf Experience. In J. E. Alatis and G. R. Tucker (eds.), Language in Public Life. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, pp. 222-230.

S. reviews the attitudes toward sign languages of the deaf in both Western and non-Western societies. Several cases of deaf people well integrated into the social world of their local groups have been documented, including the Tasaday, the Rennell Islanders, Providence Islanders, Mayans, and certain New Guinean groups. In Europe and the U. S., however, the deaf have been relegated inferior social and economic status. Attempts to "improve" sign languages by modifying them to conform to spoken languages have been manifest since the Abbe de l'Epee developed his manual system of "signes methodiques". In the last 80 years attempts to replace sign language with oral training for the deaf have predominated in deaf education. Many teachers saw sign language as "a nasty, filthy, lazy, perverse habit", and "learned journals of past decades are filled with studies proving that sign language is less than language..." It was only in the late 1950's that linguists, among whom S. is prominent, began to show that sign languages like ASL are full languages, capable of all the semantic and expressive complexity of national standards like French or English. S. details his personal involvement in this movement and notes the role of the Center for Applied Linguistics and the Georgetown University School of Language and Linguistics in supporting it. He also notes that his faculty colleagues at Gallaudet College at first reacted vehemently against his treatment of ASL as a language worthy of linguistic analysis.

Stokoe, William. 1977. Problems in Sign Language Research. In I. M. Schlesinger and L. Namir (eds.), Sign Language of the Deaf. New York: Academic Press, pp. 365-378.

S. focuses on "extrinsic" and "intrinsic" problems in sign language research. Extrinsic problems include general societal indifference to minority languages and cultures in U. S. society; limited funding for special education programs and for research; and various common misconceptions about sign language. Intrinsic problems include the difficulty of recording and reducing sign language data to a written form manageable for detailed analysis; problems of nonnative linguists in catching all the significance of ASL signing; lack of an adequate theory of language; and lack of an "adequate theory of man".

Washabaugh, William. 1981. Sign Language in its Social Context. Annual Review of Anthropology. Vol. 10, pp. 237-253.

W. surveys major issues regarding attitudes toward sign language, sign language acquisition, and the distribution of sign language varieties across contexts and subgroups of deaf signers. He notes that a diglossic situation exists in the U.S. in which manual or signed English varieties have greater prestige than ASL. Similar diglossic situations involving sign language varieties exist throughout the world. W. argues that this situation produces a "biculturalism" among the deaf that is "fraught with tensions". "The deaf are filled with competing desires for participation in the hearing society, self-recriminations for failing to measure up to the ideals of that society, and desires to flee the hearing world----"

W. argues against the traditional view of communication as a means of conveying information, saying that this puts sign language in a position of seeming "primitiveness" with respect to oral languages. W. presents a comprehensive theory of communication as "regulation" of the environment. Regulation is accomplished through simultaneously conveying information and the "manipulation of presence" or "presentation of persons to one another". He argues that emphasis on one or the other of these two functions varies among social groups. This variation is determined both externally - through media of communication and social relations - and internally. W. suggests that conveying information and manipulation of presence are "dialectically opposed"; emphasis on one leads to de-emphasis on the other. This is "internal" determination. W. argues that both external and internal determinations cause ASL and similar sign systems to stress presence manipulation. In particular, the "ambivalent" social status of the deaf requires them to make a "continual effort toward establishing and re-establishing contact."

This is an intriguing theory but should be approached with caution. Many more social and cultural factors intervene in the social relations of the deaf with the hearing population than W. mentions. Empirical ethnographic and cultural studies of deaf communities and culture are likely to reveal considerable variation within the communicative practices of members that cannot be explained simply as a "search for identity".

III. EDUCATION

Special Education

Bilingual/Bicultural Education

Parent/Child Education

Teachers Expectations/Attitudes

Classroom Management

Bodner-Johnson, B. 1986 . The family environment and achievement of deaf students: A Discriminant Analysis. Exceptional Children, 52(5), 443-449.

The primary purpose of this research was to extrapolate what relationship exists between family practices and deaf children's academic skill performance in reading and mathematics. A semi-structured home interview was conducted with 125 families. Parents were recruited for participation in the interview process through school programs their children attended. Criteria for family selection included the child's hearing level, age of the onset of hearing impairment, the child had no additional handicaps, and the approximate age of the child was between 10-12 years. Seven north-eastern states and the District of Columbia participated.

The interview consisted of 70 questions and was modified from earlier work by Marjoribanks which measured the intensity of the family environment of normally hearing children. In addition to the interview the study sought information on the parents' knowledge of and reaction to their child's hearing loss, knowledge of their child's communication abilities, participation in the deaf community and child-rearing beliefs. Scores in reading comprehension, mathematics concepts, and mathematics computation were obtained from school records.

The results indicate that those families who did well in reading had families who integrated the deaf child into the family and had high educational and occupational expectations for their children. Additionally, students in the high mathematics concepts and computation achievement groups had families who had high educational and occupational expectations and standards (press for achievement) for their children. The most significant family correlates of achievement were found to be within the influence of a school program committed to including the child's family as a resource to the child's school learning.

Budoff, M., & Conant, S. 1981. Preschoolers' conception of deafness. The Volta Review, 83(2), 156-161.

Non-handicapped preschool children were individually interviewed about a variety of topics related to deafness and deaf people. Participants in the study were 21 2-to 5-year-old children enrolled in a university-affiliated day care facility in the Boston area. The children had little prior exposure to handicapped people, and none had handicapped parents or siblings.

Most of the preschoolers expressed at least a minimal awareness of deafness, sometimes using the word deaf or describing people as unable to hear, or described signing. Those children who discussed signing displayed enthusiasm about it.

Preschoolers showed little interest in the cause of deafness. They also did not express the concern that it could be contagious. They were either overly pessimistic or overly optimistic about the possibility of deaf people becoming able to hear. When comparing preschoolers to adults, ideas that seemed essential and readily accessible often seemed to be unimportant to these children.

Carpenter, Linda. 1983. Bilingual special education: An overview of issues. Research report, National Center for Bilingual Research, Los Alamitos, CA.

This paper reviews literature in areas relevant to bilingual special education, defining issues and gaps in knowledge in each of four areas: legal bases; the scope of the problem; assessment and placement; instructional programming (including parent participation). It is noted that little is known about the linkages in the educational process, from referral to assessment, placement, programming and exit from programs; there is a lack of adequately trained personnel; and little is known about the programming needs of limited English proficient (LEP) or minority handicapped children. The report notes that "we should bear in mind..." that current research "indicates that cognitive - social - linguistic - communicative systems are inextricably related and that these relationships offer exciting avenues for conducting creative, innovative research". No specific suggestions for the design of such research are offered, however.

Other specific gaps noted in each of the four areas are as follows: (1) Although public law regulates the provision of bilingual education and special education, "bilingual special education remains to be defined by law". (2) Data on populations who are receiving or who may need bilingual special educational programming are incomplete, and "no coherent plan for collecting" such data exists. In addition, adequate accounts for the disproportionate representation of various minorities in such categories as the educable mentally retarded (EMR), specific learning disabled (SLD), and speech impaired (SI) are not available. (3) "In the area of assessing relative language proficiency for placement in bilingual education programs, valid and reliable instruments are needed for all non-English languages." There is a lack of assessment instruments and procedures for evaluating the needs of handicapped minority children which are culturally sensitive and which do not confuse lack of English language proficiency with learning problems. "Precisely what the decision-making process is regarding assessment and placement of these children is unclear and needs to be investigated in a systematic way." (4) No studies exist of the design of individualized education programs (IEPs) for handicapped minority children. In addition, although public law guarantees parental right to due process, including informed consent of educational decisions involving their handicapped children, it is unclear "whether such participation is also intended to mean full and equal input in decision making and program planning."

Craig, H. 1983. Parent-infant education in schools for deaf children: Results of CEASD survey. American Annals of the Deaf, 128(2), 82-98.

This report presents the results of a nationwide survey of schools for deaf persons regarding their programming for parent-infant (P-I) education. One-hundred and thirty parent-infant questionnaires were distributed to all schools for deaf persons in the U.S. that were listed in Amer. Annals of the Deaf Reference Issue, or on the Office of Demographic Studies mailing list. The total response to the questionnaire was 107 schools.

Of the 107 returned questionnaires, 94 schools (88% of the respondents) reported programs for 1,901 hearing-impaired children 0-4 years - 44 programs with both on-campus and home-based instruction, 44 with school-based only, and 6 with home-based only.

Several categories of demographic data were collected on these 0-4 students. Fifty-eight percent are male and 42% female; 64% had a severe to profound hearing loss, 27% moderate to severe, and 9% mild, mild to moderate. Eighty-four percent were "normal" deaf, 16% had additional handicaps. Seven percent had parents who were also hearing impaired.

Programs have been initiated rather recently. More than 60% of the schools reported pre-preschool programming has been initiated within the past 10 years, 84% within the last 15. Earlier programs were focused on children alone, more recent emphasis has been placed on parents as an essential component in the training effort.

The average age at which schools reported they would admit students was 3½ months for home-based and 18 months for school based programs. The average age of referral to programs was 25½ months.

Assessment included the broad areas of language development, communication skills, social maturity, cognitive/intellectual functioning, and parent-child interaction. Standardized and school-generated measures were used for evaluation.

Craig concludes that "this survey has demonstrated that the large majority of such schools are currently expending substantial time, effort, and money to provide instruction for increasingly younger students and to include the parents as an integral part of the educational package." Additionally, Craig suggests than an examination of effective program features, now offers exciting possibilities for advancing the education, communication skills, emotional growth, and eventual achievement of hearing-impaired infants.

Greenberg, M. T. 1983 . Family stress and child competence: The effects of early intervention for families with deaf infants. American Annals of the Deaf, 128(3), 407-417.

The purpose of this study was to measure the effects of early infant intervention using total communication, by comparing family and child outcomes in families who have received comprehensive and systematic early intervention vs. those who have had less comprehensive services. The systematic early intervention program utilized a philosophy of total communication with an emphasis on early language input by all possible modes. (All children suspected of being hearing impaired received comprehensive multi-disciplinary diagnostic testing.) There were 12 families included in each of the experimental group and the control group. Since all children/families who were diagnosed as deaf received some services, the control group is not a "no treatment" control. The treatment group received the following services: (1) Initial counselling and guidance concerning deafness and possible related disabilities was provided; (2) a teacher of the deaf, trained to work with young children, came to the home on a weekly basis to work with mother and child on educational activities; (3) once a week a deaf adult would visit the home for sign language instruction. Additionally, these visits gave parents and siblings experience with deaf persons; (4) weekly group sign-language sessions were held at the CHTP center; (5) other parent activities; (6) a child psychiatrist was available for families who required extensive therapy.

All children in both groups met the following requirements: (1) Hearing loss of greater than 70db in the better ear across the speech range; (2) no significant developmental delay; (3) 3 to 5½ years of age at the time of assessment. For the assessment, each family was visited twice by an outside evaluation team. During the first visit, the parents were given an extensive interview regarding their child and the family. During the second visit, by the team a parent was asked to complete a questionnaire on their child's developmental level, the child was then assessed for nonverbal intelligence, and finally the deaf child was videotaped in a naturalistic play setting with his/her mother. Additionally, each parent was asked to complete 3 questionnaires on family stress and parent knowledge of deafness and audiology.

The finding suggest a number of significant group differences. Mothers who had received the comprehensive intervention gave fewer behavioral commands and more declarative statements and reinforcements. They communicated more often when they had their child's visual attention, and as a result, their children were more likely to comply to their requests. The Intervention Group used questions more often in their communication than did the Comparison Group. The Intervention Group were rated as showing more gratification/enjoyment in interaction with their mothers while their mothers were less directive. During free play, intervention dyads showed longer and more elaborated conversations and interactions as well as a higher percentage of topics that included jointly shared fantasy themes. The Intervention Group showed somewhat longer word/sign combinations.

Lerman, Alan 1976. Cooperative Research Endeavors in Education of the Deaf (CREED VII) Determining Needs and Developing Remedial Programs For Deaf Children From Hispanic Backgrounds. Lexington School for the Deaf, Jackson Heights, NY.

Common educational problems and needs of children and their families from Spanish backgrounds were determined through a survey conducted in a sample of 188 children from 6 to 12 years old enrolled in metropolitan New York schools for the deaf.

Information in relation to the child's "academic and affective functioning" and to the "influence of the language and culture" in the child's school performance, was obtained from the children's families and teachers.

The results centered in a description of the Hispanic deaf population selected for the study. The main communicative problem identified was language retardation.

Language assessment results revealed that the children neither spoke nor understood Spanish, even though Spanish was the language used preferably at home; learned basic English at school, far below age and grade level; and communicated with difficulty through gestures and signs.

Among the series of variables and factors that affected language functioning, the presence or absence of a father and the traditional upbringing of the parents were considered relevant in terms of their influence on language usage and degree of parent involvement with the child.

To support the academic and affective functioning of the Hispanic deaf children and to meet their needs, materials and programs were reviewed and areas of activities were proposed. These areas included: parent counseling, teacher counseling, classroom activities, and parent outreach. In relation to the materials and programs, very limited information was provided and it referred primarily to bilingual programs for hearing Hispanic children. The applicability of such programs and materials, and assessment of the effectiveness of the currently available ones were not considered in the study.

Mehan, Hugh, A. Hertweck, S. E. Combs, and P. J. Flynn, 1982. Teachers Interpretations of Students' Behavior. In Louise Cherry Wilkinson, ed., Communicating in the Classroom. New York: Academic Press.

This article reports results of a study of the principles underlying teachers' categorization of children, specifically of candidates for referral to special education programs. Two theories of categorization are contrasted, "critical features" and "family resemblance". Records of 2781 special education referrals were reviewed. Twenty-seven teachers, who referred 55 students, were interviewed and their classrooms videotaped. Teachers and trained scorers (using teacher - specified categories of behavior) independently viewed the tapes and identified "referral behaviors". Teachers identified 36.7% of the referral behaviors noted by trained scorers for referred children, and 13.9% of such behaviors for non-referred children. Not every instance of a category behavior was noted by teachers. Instead, they sought "exemplars", or "typical" behaviors that "demonstrated" what was "characteristic" of referral children. However, teachers tended to ignore these same behaviors in nonreferred children.

These results indicate teachers use an interactional model of categorization, in which "beliefs of observers and the characteristics of the people observed" interact. The process of special ed. referrals is heavily influenced by institutional categories used in formal assessments in school contexts, which are modelled on a critical features theory. Thus there is a conflict between the two perspectives. The authors suggest that teachers should continue to use practical reasoning in making referral decisions, but might try to add different kinds of information to their assessments. What kinds of information they might add remains unspecified.

Ortiz, A. A. 1986. Characteristics of limited English proficient Hispanic students served in programs for the learning disabled: Implications for policy and practice (Part II). Bilingual Special Education Newsletter, 4, 1-5.

A study conducted by the Handicapped Minority Research Institute on Language Proficiency (HMRI) at the University of Texas at Austin, looked at the initial referral, assessment, and placement of limited English proficient (LEP) students in programs for the learning disabled. Procedures used by districts to determine special education eligibility of LEP students were the same as those used for other students. Using data collected from eligibility folders, findings indicated the following: (1) more than half of all referrals were related to LEP, (2) 45% of students had been retained at least once prior to referral, (3) only 25% of folders contained evidence of current language testing, (4) few students had been tested bilingually or in Spanish, (5) due to the lack of language data, it was impossible to determine if the subjects were learning disabled.

Figures indicate that language minority students are over-represented in programs for the disabled. These figures are a reflection of current practice in bilingual special education. Recommendations to prevent placement of normal LEP children in special education and assist special LEP students achieve their maximum potential are as follows: (1) a prereferral process should be instituted, (2) comprehensive language assessments in the native language and in English should be conducted, (3) language assessments should provide evidence that the student has developed the cognitive academic language proficiency required for mastery of literacy skills, (4) evaluations should be conducted by personnel fluent in the student's language and trained in assessment of linguistically different students, (5) eligibility criteria should require evidence that the handicapping condition exists in the primary language, not only in English.

Reagan, Timothy. 1985. The deaf as a linguistic minority: Educational considerations. Harvard Educational Review, 55(3), 265-277.

R. briefly reviews developments in federal law and policy with respect to minority languages and education. He includes the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision to desegregate schools; the 1974 Lau v. Nichols decision to include the provision of "affirmative steps" to help limited English proficient students; the 1979 Ann Arbor Black English case; and legislation on education of the handicapped (P.L. 94-142). R. notes that P.L. 94-142 has been applied to education of the deaf rather than laws related to bilingual education. The article goes on to argue for a bilingual/bicultural approach to the education of the deaf.

R. summarizes the linguistic situation of the deaf, discussing the forms of visual codes, their uses, and attitudes toward them, including ASL, PSE ("Pidgin Sign English") and MCE ("Manually Coded English").

R. notes the deaf community identifies strongly through ASL (as a marker of the group); reproduces itself through endogamous marriage, and organizational and social networks. R. reviews approaches to deaf education (oral vs. total communication) and notes that some researchers now advocate a bilingual/bicultural approach to education of the deaf.

This paper provides a good brief introduction to the issues discussed. It does not provide new research findings or break new ground. The issues R. discusses are often considerably more complex, the questions harder to answer, and the needed solutions less simple than his brief overview allows. Education for the deaf (or any other population) is not simply a linguistic issue. While a bilingual/bicultural approach might work, it remains to specify what it would mean in practice, since there are many such programs for linguistic minorities, and very few, if any, could be called truly "bicultural". There are political, economic, social class, ethnic and cultural factors that influence policy and practice which R. does not take into account.

Skiba, R. 1983. The relationship between classroom management strategies and student misbehaviors (Research Report No. 133). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

Research has determined that specific management techniques can have an effect on the classroom behavior of students. An observational rating scale was developed, based on these findings, to assess the type of management techniques used to control behavior. The program for these students was more structured than the regular education program. A school time-out room was available when classroom behavior became too severe, and access to privileges was contingent upon behavior by means of a code system. Additionally, most teachers used token economies in their classrooms on a regular basis. However, there was considerable variability in the implementation of the behavioral procedures within the program. For the purposes of the study, this variability was considered crucial, since it allowed observation of a variety of management styles.

Subjects were six teachers in a public school program for behaviorally disordered children in a large upper midwestern city. Correlational analyses were used to determine the relationships among teacher behaviors, and between teacher behavior and measures of student misbehavior. Implications for educational research and practice are discussed. Three of the teachers worked with students in grades 1-3 whose median age was 7.5, and three worked with students in grades 4-6 whose median age was 10.2. The mean number of years teaching in the program was 3.5; the mean number of years teaching special education was 7.8. The median number of students per participating classroom was 9.5.

Four observers were trained to use the Classroom Management Observation Scale (CMOS) which is designed to assess the style of teacher management in the classroom. It consists of 11 scales representing variables which prior research has shown to be correlated with improved student behavior or higher academic achievement. Classrooms were observed three times during the fall of the school year. The 4 observers were rotated in all classrooms, and no observer was given a classroom more than once.

The results indicated that partial correlations among the CMOS variables revealed that only interventions for inappropriate behavior and immediacy of consequences were unaffected by controlling for other behaviors. Feedback and lesson structure appeared to be dependent upon each other and unaffected by other variables. There were strong relationships between noise, out of seat, and off task behavior. Skiba concluded that the results clearly showed, the importance of direct management variables over indirect structuring variables, and in particular the importance of managing inappropriate behavior.

Will, Madeleine C. 1986. Educating children with learning problems: A shared responsibility. Exceptional Children, 62 (2), 411-415.

The author notes that since the passing of PL94-142 in 1975, special education has improved knowledge of and services to educationally handicapped children. Yet certain limitations still need to be overcome.

W. suggests that special education has been limited by its philosophy "of separation, of fragmentation, of removal." Four consequences follow: (1) "Eligibility requirements and screening procedures...can exclude many... students from needed educational support." (2) There is a "tendency to equate poor performance with a handicap." (3) "Special programs frequently address failure rather than prevention." And (4) there is a "lack of a cooperative, supportive partnership between school officials, teachers, and parents in the education of the child."

W. suggests that, because our society is rapidly changing, schools must "prepare all students to identify, analyze, and resolve problems as they arise; to increase their ability to respond and cope in a flexible manner with change."

To accomplish this W. suggests four needed developments in special education: (1) There must be better coordination of special and regular education programs to provide services to all students based on individual needs rather than eligibility for special programs. (2) Experimental programs, carefully monitored, should be developed. (3) Assessment should be "curriculum-based...rather than emphasizing categorization or labelling." And (4), educational programs of proven worth should be expanded.

W. emphasizes that the state of the art of knowledge "in education is far ahead of the state of actual practice in the schools." She suggests that "parents should be deeply involved and their rights to due process and participation in planning should be assured, especially in matters relating to the child's individualized education plan."

This article provides a comprehensive policy for special education, which, if implemented, would undoubtedly improve special education. However, certain issues raised and suggestions made need to be further analyzed and developed. For example, if practice lags behind knowledge in education, it would be important to know how such a lag was produced and is maintained, in order to know where in the system (teacher training, curriculum development, research, administration, etc.?) to implement changes. Also, W. does not touch on cultural issues, which, given the increase of ethnic minorities in special programs, need to be addressed.

Ysseldyke, J. E., Christenson, S., Algozzine, B., Thurlow, M. L. 1983. Classroom teachers' attributions for students exhibiting different behaviors (Research Report No. 131). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities.

One-hundred and seventy-four classroom teachers participated in a study to determine teacher beliefs for students exhibiting immature, unmanageable or perceptually different behaviors. The teachers were mailed a case study falling into one of the three categories. They were then asked to complete an "actions to be taken" survey form. Teacher beliefs for students described as exhibiting the three types of behaviors in the classroom follow.

The teachers' attributions for the students' difficulties were primarily ascribed to student or home factors. The researchers suggested that if student and home causes are ascribed, it may absolve teachers from the responsibility, willingness, or belief that they can be effective with students who exhibit different behaviors in their classrooms. In turn, this may reinforce a teacher's belief that she/he can be only "minimally" effective because of the constraints of the student.

IV. ANTHROPOLOGICAL/ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON THE DEAF

Erting, Carol. 1985. Cultural conflict in a school for deaf children. Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 16:225-243.

After reviewing basic information regarding the experience of deafness and education of the deaf, E. reports part of the results of her five-year ethnographic study of a preschool for deaf children. The "Jackson School" supports a total communication program, yet significant differences between deaf parents and educators existed regarding respective social roles, various beliefs about deafness and sign languages, and education. These differences were the source of considerable conflict.

Hearing educators generally viewed deafness in clinical terms as a disability that needed to be compensated for through special programs which they, as trained professionals, could provide. "Their view of deafness as a condition to be corrected produced efforts aimed at changing characteristics of deaf people - such as their mode of communication, sign language, and behaviors - in order to match them as closely as possible to the hearing norm." Deaf parents, on the other hand, desired information, "access to everyday knowledge," for themselves and their children, not counseling or speech training.

Educators tried to establish a "contractual, single-stranded relationship" with parents; i.e., one in which educators would "facilitate" deaf parents' adjustment to their children's "handicap," but only on an eight-hour-a-day, five-days-a-week basis. Deaf parents, on the other hand, expected a "normative relationship" from teachers; i.e., one in which time would be spent in "getting to know one another" in informal, out-of-school settings.

E. notes that educators rejected her views of deaf parents' needs. Even though E. was for several years a teacher of the deaf herself, teachers did not view her status as an anthropologist as providing expertise in their area. E. notes that resolutions to the parent-school conflicts came about only when one deaf parent became a teacher in the school and networked with other deaf teachers to bring pressures to bear for structural changes.

Groce, Nora Ellen. 1985. Everyone Here Spoke Sign Language: Hereditary deafness on Martha's Vineyard. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

This book provides a historical study of the deaf community on Martha's Vineyard, as seen from an anthropological perspective. G. combined a search of written archives and oral history methods to trace the history of hereditary deafness on the Island from its probable source in the Weald of Kent (southeastern England) in the 17th century to its demise in the mid-twentieth.

G. sketches the settlement patterns and economic history of Martha's Vineyard, then traces the genetic origins of deafness to Kent, reconstructing the family genealogy of Joseph Lambert, the first recorded deaf person on the Island. She notes evidence for the existence and use of a sign language in Kent which was probably brought to Martha's Vineyard with Lambert in 1694, and which was sustained for two and a half centuries.

The ratio of deaf to hearing population was 1:155 in the mid-nineteenth century, peaking at a total of 45 deaf persons in the 1840's. In the U. S. generally, one person in every 5,728 was born deaf.

Island attitudes toward the deaf differed markedly from mainland attitudes, as islanders began to learn when tourists began to visit the Vineyard in large numbers in the late 19th century. Hearing islanders used sign language with the deaf. The deaf were well integrated into the social and economic life of Vineyard communities, as indicated by marriage patterns, fertility rates, income distribution and occupation.

Interviewees in their 80's and 90's often failed to refer to the deafness of a deaf person they had known years ago, and were surprised when G. pointed this out: "Weren't they both deaf?" G. asked one informant, who replied, "Yes, come to think of it, I guess they both were." One islander noted, "those people weren't handicapped. They were just deaf." This statement highlights G.'s main thesis: impairments only become handicaps through social and historical processes. Islander's complete acceptance of deafness was deeply rooted in community traditions reaching back to the Kentish Weald.

G. does not believe this acceptance was due to an egalitarian or cooperative social organization, as some analysts would argue, since she feels island society was neither egalitarian nor any less competitive than mainland society. However, she does not establish this point with thorough documentation, and in fact the picture she leaves of island social, political and economic processes is rather sketchy. One is still left with the question of why islanders were able to maintain a social arrangement in which apparently no cultural boundaries between deaf and hearing were constructed, whereas on the mainland sharp boundaries (and discrimination against the deaf) were maintained.

Nevertheless, as the only book-length historical study of the deaf in a specific American community, this book is an important contribution to our knowledge of deaf culture and history.

Hall, Stephanie. 1986. Here we sign: functions of folklore in the socialization of deaf youths. In John B. Christiansen and Richard W. Meisegeir, eds. Papers for the Second Research Conference on the Social Aspects of Deafness, June 8-10, 1986, Dept. of Sociology and Social Work, Gallaudet College.

This paper summarizes findings, based on an ethnographic study, regarding the socialization of young deaf adults into deaf culture. The author notes that this socialization process is likely to differ from that in the hearing population, since in general "the deaf do not raise the children who later become part of their community."

The author observed and participated in activities in a deaf club in Philadelphia, noting how new young adults were incorporated as members. She found that certain club members were regarded as leaders and took on the role of mentors to new members. They used stories, jokes, puns, riddles and other language play to illustrate the values of the deaf community and to model appropriate forms of social participation.

Strong emphasis was placed on the central importance of ASL, although a variety of English-based forms of signing were allowed or used in various situations. For example, the written oath of membership was administered in a fairly literal signed translation of written English.

New members were taught to respect their mentors, yet mentors also tried to treat the young adults in an informal, friendly way. Mentors avoided being "over-bearing, or authoritarian." The author considers this approach to be "essential to dealing with active eighteen-year-olds." It might also be suggested that in fact the deaf club depends in general on maintaining and fostering "informal" relations, and that it is one of its essential roles to provide opportunities for developing such relationships in the deaf community.

V. CROSS CULTURAL ISSUES

Draper, Patricia. 1976. Social and economic constraints on child life among the !Kung. In R. B. Lee and I. DeVore (eds.), Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers: studies of the !Kung San and their neighbors. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

D. presents an ecological model of childhood among the !Kung San, focusing on the /Du/da, "the most isolated and traditional of all the !Kung." The /Du/da live in small bands of 30-40 people. About 80% of their subsistence is based on gathering wild foods from the environment. The remaining 20% is obtained through hunting.

The !Kung live in temporary camps consisting of a few small grass huts arranged in a circle, all facing a cleared area. Children up to the age of ten generally remain within this temporary enclosure.

D. notes that "competitiveness in games is almost entirely lacking," in keeping with "!Kung cultural values against competitiveness." Children are almost always in the company of adults, though these may not always be their own parents. Children under the age of 14 do not accompany adults on hunting and foraging expeditions, and "make virtually no economic contribution to subsistence." D. notes that "children do amazingly little work."

Children are not excluded from certain activities nor are they confined in any way. "Adults are ubiquitous, but they have a nondirective attitude toward the nearby children," although "parents are quick to stop aggressive interactions." Adults rarely interrupt a child or intervene to change the child's behavior.

D. uses an ecological model to explain these child-rearing patterns among the !Kung; that is, their subsistence economy "conspires to exclude children from early learning of subsistence skills." This explanation would be questioned by anthropologists of other theoretical persuasions, especially as it is rather deterministic and leaves out of account the two-way interaction that may obtain between material, social and ideational aspects of culture. Nevertheless, D.'s study is useful to those interested in child development and education in Western societies, for it encourages a healthy skepticism of psychologists' tendency to view Western child rearing practices as representative of "universal stages" of cognitive, linguistic and affective development.

Laosa, L. M. 1974. Child care and the culturally different child. Child Care Quarterly, 3(4), 214-24.

This paper explores the importance of taking into account the cultural, linguistic, and socioeconomic level characteristics of children in conducting quality child care programs. Additionally, the article addresses some of the major areas of competence and competency standards that are necessary for qualifying child care personnel to work with national-origin minority group children in the U.S., focusing on children from Spanish-speaking backgrounds.

Each child is born into a family with its own unique characteristics. The larger unit which the family belongs to shares a particular social, economic, and linguistic background, its culture. The average Spanish-speaking youngster comes from a home speaking Spanish. On entering an institution he/she is suddenly faced with the need to master English and use it to function adequately in his new environment.

Laosa suggests that a major weakness of current training programs is the prevalent tendency to overgeneralize about the type of situation the prospective child care "specialist" might anticipate on completing training and entering the field. Prospective child care personnel who will work with Spanish-speaking children should have a requisite understanding of the complex social, economic, and psychological factors that interact in the developmental process of children from this varied cultural linguistic group. Workers who are not indigenous to the child's culture must be exposed to a preparation program that emphasizes environmental understanding. If the personnel is trained properly, he or she realizes that an apparent conflict usually is not the result of one attitude being true or false, or one being good and one bad, but the manner of looking at things may differ widely.

The paper explores the importance of taking into account the cultural, linguistic, and socioeconomic-level characteristics of children in conducting quality child care programs. Some major areas of competence-including bilingualism and multiculturalism, an understanding of the effects of poverty, and an ability to provide culturally democratic environments are discussed. The author concludes with a plea for more cross-cultural and subcultural systematic research to be conducted.

Padden, Carol. 1980. The Deaf Community and the Culture of Deaf People. In C. Baker and R. Battison, eds., Sign Language and the Deaf Community. Silver Springs, MD: National Association of the Deaf, pp. 89-103.

Padden distinguishes between "community" and "culture", and then discusses aspects of the deaf community and deaf culture. Communities "share common goals", occupy a "particular geographic location", and are free to organize their social life. Cultures are shared values. Deaf culture is not identical with the deaf community, but rather represents a segment of that community. Deaf communities around the country may vary but "there is a single American deaf culture".

The deaf community, which may include hearing people, supports goals of attaining educational, economic and political equity for deaf people, and to achieve recognition of the history of deaf communities and of the use of signing.

Deaf culture includes such values as: the importance of ASL as a primary mode of communication for the deaf; a disassociation from speech; maintenance of strong, informal social and family ties; and stories and literature of deaf culture.

P. notes conflicts exist within the deaf community regarding which goals to pursue, and that deaf culture reflects ways in which its members react to their social environment.

This article provides one important starting point for further study of the relationship between deaf communities, deaf culture, and U.S. society in general.

Spindler, George. 1974. The Transmission of Culture.
In G. Spindler (ed.), Education and Cultural Process.
New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

This seminal article reviews several anthropological studies of cultural transmission (including The Dusun of Borneo, The Tewa of the Southwest, The Eskimo, The Palauans of Micronesia, The Tiwi of North Australia, and others). The cultural variability of educational practices is thoroughly exemplified. Specific techniques and functions of education are discussed, as well as certain basic concepts.

The concepts stressed are "cultural compression", and "continuity/discontinuity". Cultural compression refers to the allocation of rights and responsibilities to children who pass into adult status. Discontinuity is seen as an aspect of the maturation process itself, and different cultures are compared in terms of how they introduce discontinuities (such as the passage from prepuberty to puberty and adolescence, or from adolescence to adulthood) into the educational experience of the young.

Several educational techniques - reward, modeling and imitation, play, dramatization, verbal admonition, reinforcement and story-telling are discussed and their cultural universality and cultural variation described in detail.

Traditional societies and societies undergoing modernization are compared. S. notes that in the latter, schools became "agents of modernization", and help create discontinuities of a different kind in the child's education: that between school and home, such schools tend, S. argues, to become rigid in teaching methods and curricula as a result, and do not prepare students to cope with a modern way of life.

It should be noted that S.'s model of culture derives from the American anthropological "functionalist" school, and this essay can be taken as representing both the strengths and weaknesses of applying this model to the study of educational systems or processes.

VI. RESEARCH THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1966 (1922). Introduction: The subject, method, and scope of this inquiry. Argonauts of the Western Pacific. New York: E. P. Dutton, pp. 1-25.

This is a seminal introduction to the general purposes and methods of ethnographic fieldwork that educators interested in ethnographic method should be aware of. M.'s discussion still holds relevance for ethnographic research today and provides a broader perspective than many of the recent discussions of ethnography and education.

M. uses his own early field experiences to testify to the importance of entering into the daily life of the "native" and documenting in detail all aspects of that life. He stresses the importance of considering the totality of the group's social and cultural life, and notes that, even when focusing on one aspect (such as trading relations), it cannot be properly understood unless its relationships to all other aspects of the society - social, cultural, political and economic - are discovered. "...the whole area of tribal culture in all its aspects has to be gone over in research."

M. notes the importance of theory as provided by prior research. He makes the important distinction between "preconceived ideas" and "foreshadowed problems". The latter "are the main endowment of a scientific thinker". There should be a constant interplay between theory and gathering of data as the ethnographer refines his understanding of the social phenomena under investigation.

M. sets forth three principles of method which correspond to three kinds of data. These he summarizes under the terms "skeleton", "flesh and blood" and "spirit". The "skeleton" of social life consists of the rules and laws of behavior which the ethnographer should be able to chart or tabulate. The "flesh and blood" consists of "the realities of human life, the even flow of everyday events, the occasional ripples of excitement." The ethnographer should not only be able to chart the rules of ritual, custom and other behavior. He should also be able to state such things as "whether an art is public or private; how a public assembly behaves...; whether an event is ordinary or an exciting and singular one; whether natives bring to it a great deal of sincere and earnest spirit, or perform it in fun...."

The third aspect of social life M. emphasizes, the "spirit," refers to "the native's views and opinions," the native's own "commentary" (often implicit) on the rules and manners of social behavior. Today this might be referred to more broadly as the ideological aspect of social life, the meanings given to particular arts or other social realities.

M. sees three general potential results of ethnographic research: to generate feelings of solidarity between the "civilized" and native's worlds; to reveal new understandings of human mentality; and to increase our own understanding of ourselves.

Nash, Robert J. 1974. The Convergence of Anthropology and Education. In G. Spindler (ed.), Education and Cultural Process. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

This article provides (1) a brief review of contributions to educational research by American anthropologists; (2) brief review of two approaches to the educational anthropology as an interdisciplinary field; (3) a critique of studies mentioned in (1) and (2), with suggestions for future research.

Nine anthropologists who wrote about educational issues are reviewed, including Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Melville Herskovits, Robert Redfield, Clyde Kluckhohn, Ashley Montague, Jules Henry, and George Spindler. Anthropologists emphasized a notion of education as part of more general enculturation processes, and have made comparative studies of child-rearing and initiation rites, and have demonstrated cultural variability and argued for ethnic, racial, and cultural equality. They have also stressed, particularly Spindler, the notion of schools as integrated cultural systems which reflect the values and conflicts of the societies in which they are embedded.

N. divides educational anthropology into "methodological" and "hermenentical" emphases. The methodologist stresses value-free social science applications to specific educational problems, while the hermeneuticist emphasizes the mediation of fact and value, and the recognition that both educational and anthropological researchers must make their values explicit in their research.

N. criticizes educators who have been drawn to social science research methods for "concentrating on the most easily measurable topics (usually the most banal), and neglecting the more pressing sociopolitical implications of educational policy-making". He suggests that "the single greatest contribution which anthropology can make to education is to help in clarifying such traditional terminological, confusions as 'teaching', 'learning', 'individual needs', 'curriculum', 'motivation', and 'relevant education'." N. does not demonstrate how these terms are to be "clarified", nor does he provide any systematic methods for deciding which concepts are best candidates for clarification.

Ogbu, John V. 1981. School ethnography: a multilevel approach. Anthropology and Education Quarterly. 12:3-29.

O. addresses the "scope and adequacy of school ethnography for understanding the process of education and for theory building in educational anthropology." He considers the contributions ethnography has made to explanations "for the disproportionate failure of minority groups...to learn successfully in American schools." O. criticizes the strong "bias toward microethnography in educational research," for its limited perspective, noting that there has been a "concomitant neglect of broader community forces."

O. notes that "very few school ethnographers go beyond" school, classroom or home environment, "to study how the wider society and its institutions influence minority schooling." Microethnographers focus almost exclusively on "transactional" questions; i.e., "continuities and discontinuities between the home-community and classroom in interactional and communicative styles, in values, motivation, and so on."

O. calls for supplementing the transactional focus with "structural" questions; i.e., "an examination of the features of the wider society (e.g., the stratification systems, the corporate economy) that...shape the community patterns...that minority children acquire, as well as the responses these schools make to these children."

O. argues that the cultural and communicative "discontinuities" explanation of minority children's school failure is inadequate - despite its strong "practical" appeal to educators. The "discontinuities" model ignores the forces of the wider ecological environment that actually generate the patterns of classroom processes studied. O. suggests that, while "microethnographic studies can be used as a basis for remedial efforts..., they cannot lead to any significant social change that would eliminate the need for such remedial efforts."

O, presents a comprehensive model for a "cultural ecological" approach to educational ethnography. This model assumes: (1) "that formal education is linked in important ways that affect people's behaviors in school with other features of society;" (2) that this "linkage has a history;" (3) that "the behaviors of participants are influenced by their models of social reality;" and (4) that "an adequate ethnography of schooling" must include the "study of relevant societal and historical forces."

O. uses his own research in Stockton, California to exemplify this approach. He notes the linkage between the "job ceiling" for local Blacks and Black students' rejection of school. He points to a considerable "conflict and mistrust between Blacks and the schools," which correlates with "disillusionment and lack of effort, optimism and perseverance." These attitudes are communicated to children. When these children confront a school system which has low expectations of them, they tend to reject the school.

This article occupies a key place in current arguments about the application of ethnographic method to the study of educational systems.

O.'s research in Stockton may itself be questioned for leaving certain considerations out of the analysis, such as, the distribution of power within and outside modern state-controlled institutions; the control of job markets in U. S. society by interests very distant from the Black and other minority communities which not only create "job ceilings," but heavily influence labor markets internationally; and the issue of whether Black "survival strategies" are more than maladaptive responses to a caste system, but are instead part of a rich, historically deep, diverse alternative culture (as some historians have recently argued; e.g., Gutman 1976; Harding 1981).

Singleton, John. 1974. Implications of Education as Cultural Transmission. In G. Spindler (ed.), Education and Cultural Process. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

S. emphasizes a notion of culture as "patterns of meaning, reality, values, actions and decision-making that are shared by and within social collectivities". The view that education is a process of cultural transmission has two major implications: (1) "education...is a social process occurring within social institutions; (2) schools form only one sector of the broad educational factors to which an individual is exposed".

More specific implications concern the need to view schools "as social institutions having a life and even a culture of their own"; to study schools "as instruments of a variety of specific functions rather than as what our educational ideology would claim for them"; and to recognize that schools in complex societies "must be seen as the arena for cross-cultural conflict and other transactions between representatives of different cultural systems".

S. also provides methodological principles for the study of education as cultural transmission. Ethnography is defined as the "objective nonevaluative description of behavioral systems". This implies an emphasis on the meaning of behavior to participants, and S. contrasts the anthropologist's interest in individuals within "their web of social relationships" to the experimental psychologist's interest in "subjects" abstracted from their social context. "What happens in the real world?" is a basic anthropological question: "Any naturally significant human group is seen as a system of interrelated elements which constitute the underlying structure of the phenomena to be observed rather than as a tangle of related variables which can be sifted out and associated in lawlike regularities for all human situations."

S. concludes by briefly describing several pioneering anthropological studies of educational settings.

VII. NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Delgado, G. L. 1981. Hearing-impaired children from non-native language homes. American Annals of the Deaf, 126(2), 118-121.

The Gallaudet Survey of Hearing-Impaired Children from Non-Native Language Homes was sent to 1,203 programs on the mailing of the Office of Demographic Studies, Gallaudet College. The intent of the questionnaire was to obtain basic demographic data and other characteristics of hearing-impaired children who come from home environments where the spoken language is unlike that used in the school. The response rate was 62%, reporting data on 41,489 hearing-impaired children.

The results indicate that there is a steady increase in the number of these children nationwide. The estimated number of children from non-English speaking homes in the survey was 3,011 or 7% of the total reported. A higher incidence of additional handicaps are reported for this group. Of the group of children from non-English speaking homes, 1,552 or 51% of the children were reported with handicaps in addition to their hearing loss.

The questionnaire asked the programs to compare their children from non-English speaking homes with the other students enrolled in the same program. Sixty-five percent indicated that the students from non-English speaking homes were performing at a lower level academically than their classmates.

The majority of programs surveyed responded that they provided no specialized programming. They sighted the following as reasons: (1) The children would have to integrate into the particular society, therefore, learning the native language was much more practical; (2) special programming was questionable on a cost-effective basis, since these students exist in small numbers; and (3) respondents had insufficient information on how to begin to address the problem.

Some of the schools indicated that they used special approaches (tutoring; total communication, cued speech; bilingual educators, translators, aides; translated sign books; testing children in native language) and special materials (second language programs; Apple Tree Series; captioned films; Mecham Program; videotapes).

Delgado indicates a vast paucity of research in the area, sighting only two studies previously conducted. Projecto Oportunidad at the Rhode Island School for the Deaf, which provides a bilingual/bicultural program for children from Spanish and Portuguese-speaking homes. The other project, LISTO (Latino In-Service Training and Orientation) directed through the Lexington School for the Deaf, provides training for teachers, resource trainees and social service personnel.

The researcher concludes that it is time educators become aware of non-native language problems and begin to conduct research, develop materials and implement more effective programs to address this need.

APPENDIX D

GUIDE FOR THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE INTAKE PROCESS

APPENDIX D

GUIDE FOR THE ETHNOGRAPHIC

STUDY OF THE INTAKE

PROCESS

Introduction

The following is a guide for data collection and ongoing analysis of data as it is collected. Part I outlines four areas of major concern to be kept in mind at all stages of data collection and analysis. Part II presents a framework for observation and analysis, focusing particularly on communicative events. Part III presents a brief general discussion of our theoretical framework for analyzing these events.

PART I: MAJOR ISSUES

A. COMMUNITY, FAMILY, CHILD

1. Characteristics of the Community the Child Lives In

2. Home Environment and Family Background

   a. Social Networks and General Background

   b. Attitudes toward Deafness, Education, Language

   c. Family Communicative Patterns

3. The Child

   a. Background (place of birth; etiology of deafness; educational experience, etc.)

   b. General behavior patterns

   c. Communicative repertoire

B. INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT AND FAMILY RESPONSE

1. Intake Testing, Evaluation and Placement

   a. The Intake Day

   b. MDT Conference

2. General Attitudes and Views of Staff Involved in Various Stages of Intake Process

   a. Description of their role in intake process

   b. Explanation and interpretation of their role in the process, and of their view of family and child

3. The Phase-1 IEP

   a. Content--recommendations; supporting documentation

   b. Response of State Regional Office

C. INITIATION OF THE CHILD INTO SCHOOLING

1. Description of Classroom Environment

   a. Physical description

   b. Classroom educational and social environment (grade level; teachers; students...)

   c. Activity types and speech events common to this classroom

C. INITIATION OF THE CHILD INTO SCHOOLING (Continued)

2. The Child's Adaptation to the Classroom Environment

a. Learning the ways of classroom activities

b. Relations with teachers

c. Relations with peers

3. Teachers' Response to the Child/Family

a. Teachers' attitudes toward child

b. Teachers' communicative patterns w. child

c. Teachers' relationship with parents

4. Writing the Phase-2 IEP

D. IMPLICATIONS AND ISSUES

1. Cultural Interactions

a. Interfaces of home and school

b. Initiation of the child into the institution

c. Effect of institutional and legal constraints

2. Comparisons with other cases

3. Research Issues

4. Educational Issues

PART II: FRAMEWORK FOR OBSERVATION AND ANALYSIS

The following is an outline of steps to be used in data collection and analysis procedures, based on discussion in the original proposal, and on the Framework for Analysis of Discourse appended there. All aspects of Sections A, C and D apply to virtually all the data collected through case studies. Various parts of Section B apply to specific segments of data, depending on particular research issues of interest in that segment.

A. INITIAL REVIEW OF DATA COLLECTED

1. Log Tapes or Field Notes:

   Indicate interactional events and activities as they occur through time, with references to tape counter numbers, or page numbers of field notes.

2. Code for SPEAKING (Attached):

   Indicate Settings, Scenes, Participants, Ends, Act Sequences, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genres. Index tape counter, page numbers.

3. Code for Relevant Research Issues:

   a. Communicative repertoire of child

   b. Cultural/Institutional influences on professional views of family and child

   c. Cultural influences on family views of schooling, language, bilingualism, deafness, etc.

   d. Interaction of Family and Institution

   e. Communication practices in home/community environment (social networks; communicative patterns; interactional activities, etc.)

   f. Relevance to educational policy issues regarding Hispanic deaf children

   g. Other issues revealed by data analysis to be significant

4. Select Segments of Data for Detailed Analysis:

   a. Select segments of tapes, observational field notes, interview data, etc. on basis of relevance to research issues in 3. above.

   b. Transcribe relevant segments of tapes; type and file relevant segments of field notes, etc. File materials under each specific case study.

B. INTERACTIONAL ANALYSIS OF DATA SEGMENTS (FIRST LEVEL)

(Includes analysis of communicative interactions between staff members, staff and family, teachers and child, school professionals and state officials, etc. Different uses of various aspects of the analysis outlined here may apply to these various levels of interaction).

1. Isolate Specific Communicative Intents:

   These involve various levels of intent, from the very specific (e.g., capturing the floor for a turn at talk, making a request), to the more general (e.g., persuading others to accept a point of view, incorporate new information into their general perspective or attitude), to the very general (e.g., cause changes in institutional practice). Use research relevance to guide focus.

2. Isolate Communicative Strategies for Accomplishing Communicative Intents:

   a. Prosodic analysis (intonational contours, speech rhythm and tempo, loudness shifts, etc.)

   b. Linguistic analysis (relevant phonological and grammatical cues)

   c. Semantic analysis (lexical selection, semantic case roles and semantic frames)

   d. Pragmatic analysis (e.g., speech acts; Gricean implicatures; politeness conventions)

   e. Discourse analysis (e.g., openings and closings; initiating topics; commenting on and developing topics; topic shifts; content of specific concern to participants; genres used; overall structures of speech events and communicative activities)

   f. Isolate relevance of channels and codes used (e.g., verbal/nonverbal; prosodic/linguistic; language choice, etc.)

C. INTERACTIONAL ANALYSIS (SECOND LEVEL)

Focus on quality of interaction and communication in terms of:

1. Negotiation of status, roles, activities, mutual understandings, outcomes, etc.

2. Failures to convey intentions, achieve ends; communicative breakdowns and mishaps; misunderstandings, etc.

3. Communicative strategies pertinent to 1. and 2.

D. FORMULATE HYPOTHESES REGARDING SITUATED MEANINGS, RELEVANCE TO RESEARCH ISSUES, EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

E. TEST HYPOTHESES AGAINST:

1. Internal Consistency with Other Relevant Information in Data Base

2. Elicitations of Participant Interpretations

SUMMARY OF HYMES' SPEAKING: a model for the description of communicative events

S
- SETTING--time, place, physical circumstances
- SCENE--psychological setting; cultural definition of an occasion (e.g., formal/informal; serious/festive. . .) (Types: meeting, conversation, instructional, etc.)

P — PARTICIPANTS--speakers/senders; addressor; hearer/receiver/audience; addressee

E
- ENDS IN VIEW--goals, purposes, intended outcomes
- ENDS AS OUTCOMES--results, eventualities (decisions reached, agreements, disagreements, etc.)

A — ACT SEQUENCES--what happens, when, and in what order (beginnings, closings, shifts in activities

K — KEY--tone, manner spirit. . .

I — INSTRUMENTALITIES
- Channels--verbal/nonverbal; spoken/written.
- Codes/varieties--languages, dialects, ideolects. . .
- Forms of speech--register

N — NORMS
- interactional--social relations; networks...social organization and structure. . . institutional structures. . .
- interpretational--explicit/implicit; direct/indirect; literal/nonliteral. . . analogical/metaphoric/syllogistic/ . . .

G — GENRE--lecture, conversation, workshop, greeting, narrative, instructional, riddle, proverb, games, novel, drama, (and many other written forms, e.g., romance, lyric, mystery, etc.)

PART III: NOTES ON HIGHER LEVEL ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE

A. DISCOURSE, CONTEXT AND METHOD IN THE "QUEST FOR UNDERSTANDING"

Discourse as an interplay of material, social, and ideological forces or relations (Bakhtin). "Layered" analyses of these discourses in terms of what is "submerged," vs. what is "on the surface" (an old hermeneutical notion). Looking at the relationships between what is "said" and "meant" (speech act theory; Searle, Grice, Wittgenstein). Looking at "literal meaning," "entailed meaning," and "implicatures" (Grice 1967; 1975). But going beyond an idea of teasing these apart to understand an "underlying logic" or "semantics," to asking what the relationships of these different kinds of meanings are in actual social/cultural contexts. This raises questions of what a context is, and the answer is a processual one, i.e., you find out more and more about it by investigating it, and you can't predetermine what you will find, what limits you will set, what questions will emerge.

Method enters in directly here, which is why we will have to discuss the history and development of the research itself. To give a sense of how that method affects our "findings," and of how those "findings" affect our methods. Another way of thinking about method (besides the usual scientistic concern with "objective truth": Method as a response to a situation, beginning with an initial concern (on a rather general, somewhat vague, and theoretical level) with "problems" of Hispanics in U.S. society; going on to more specific concerns of obtaining access to environments where Hispanics are being "served," or encountering the institutions that mediate between the powerful and the powerless.

B. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

We will have to give some attention to the kinds of discourse analysis people in the Hymes/Gumperz tradition are doing, to critiques of it (e.g., Ogbu, 1981), and to our own experiences with trying to apply and develop these very useful (but seriously limited) styles of analysis.

Want to attempt something like a "layered analysis," by uncovering or teasing out literal, entailed, and implied meanings, and by questioning the relationships between these. Very important to get direct interpretations of participants and to ask them, eventually, what is a "legitimate" interpretation and what is--from their perspective--not so legitimate. There are also other ways to look at discourse, that there are "layers" of meaning, that some meanings are explicit and easily agreed on, that members often perceive other levels of meaning that are not easily agreed on, that get different interpretations, and, MOST IMPORTANTLY, that they act on these more implied levels of meaning. That is, they use them to justify and explain what they are doing, in fact, to define or categorize what they are doing. Hence all the talk about the "real" vs. the "ideal," etc., ad infinitum (until it makes you sick).

APPENDIX E

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

OF MAJOR THEMES (2ND YEAR)

APPENDIX E

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

OF MAJOR THEMES (2ND YEAR)

The following is intended as a guide to the collection and analysis of data throughout the 2nd year of the research project, and to the writing of the final report.

FIVE AREAS OF MAJOR CONCERN

Five major areas of concern to be considered throughout the research project and in the writing of the final report are as follows:

1. FAMILY/SCHOOL RELATIONS
2. THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF ASSESSMENTS
3. THE FAMILY'S SOCIAL POSITION AND HISTORY (including the child's place in the family)
4. THE CHILD'S RESPONSE TO SCHOOLING
5. SCHOOLS AS INSTITUTIONS

DISCUSSION

1. FAMILY/SCHOOL RELATIONS

   a. Some Major Concerns:

      (1) How do parents learn about the school? What are their experiences on first coming into contact with the school on the intake day? How do they react to and deal with the Initial Intake Form at Lex?

      (2) What kinds of input can parents have in the decision-making process? In their K's education? In the way classrooms are run? In placements and in IEP process?

      (3) What is the relationship between the organizational structure of the school and the kinds of issues in (2) above? Include the interactions between the organization of the school and the influence of the legal constraints and the state office of education and its influence.

      (4) What are the most salient aspects of the culture of formal education that influence the relationship of families and schools? For example, the concept of individualism implied in the notion of an IEP; or, the idea of professional status; or the relationship between, say, professional status, the implementation of formal (legal) guidelines, and the kind of

1. FAMILY/SCHOOL RELATIONS (Continued)

information the school gives the parents.

(5) Given that, in order to participate in a decision-making process, you have to be informed about options, roles and responsibilities, what kind of information do parents have? What would they need in order to participate more actively and effectively?

(6) What are some influences of the home/community cultural environment on the participation of parents in decision-making, etc.?

(7) What practical suggestions can we make for change?

b. Data Sources

(1) Intake Records--how is information presented in the IEP? What do professional's reports show about how they gather, classify, and verify their assertions about family and child? How much of this does parent really have access to (i.e., in such a way that they can evaluate it)?

(2) MDT Conferences--How is information presented to parents? What kinds of reactions do parents have? What kinds of interaction between Ps and staff? How much discussion is there and how much is it a kind of formality, treated as such by all?

(3) Parent/teacher IEP(II) conferences, and Annual IEP conferences; interviews of parents--e.g.,L.'s three IEP conferences and the interview tapes about her conflict over the "aggressiveness" of Carlos. E.'s experience at finding out about Benito's placement next year. Compare Ana's mother and her "professional" relationship with the teacher.

(4) Interviews and discussions with staff. Some of these are recorded in field notes. Consider, for example, their views of parent participation in the classroom now, vs. parent participation a few years ago. Note also frequent statements, oral and written (e.g., the brochures Lex. produces) by school that they want to "involve parents more."

2. ASSESSMENT OF THE CHILD (FORMAL AND INFORMAL)

How is information gathered, validated (or rather made legitimate in certain contexts and for certain purposes), classified, encoded or communicated, and recorded?

Maybe we should see the Phase I IEP process as a form of legitimation of the power of the institution on the one hand, and as the reflection of an attempt to ensure "equal treatment" on the other through the establishment of formal (legal) constraints.

2. ASSESSMENT OF THE CHILD (FORMAL AND INFORMAL) (Continued)

What is the relationship (complex, no doubt) between the assessments, the IEPs, and the actual treatment of the child in the classroom, or the parent in the parent-school interactions?

What is a child, anyway? (School's view; parents' view; children's views; our view)

3. THE FAMILIES

After the child has been in school for the first 30 days and the Phase-2 IEP has been written, a case study report should be written and filed in that child's folder as well as in a separate file of "Case Study Reports." These reports will summarize our observations with enough descriptive detail to cover the entire range of the relationship between child and school, as evidenced by the data we have collected and the analyses we have made. Reference to our documentation--field notes, video/audio tapes, IEPs, records, test results, etc.--should be made throughout in such a way that the documentation can be easily retrieved when needed. Each report will conclude with a discussion of the issues raised by the case study and implications for research and educational practice.

In brief outline, each case study will follow this format:

a. Child, Family and Community

   (1) Family and Home/Community Environment

   (2) The Child

b. Institutional Treatment and Family Response

   (1) The Intake Process

      (a) The Intake Day

      (b) MDT Conference

   (2) The Child in the Classroom

c. Implications and Issues

   (1) Cultural Interactions

      (a) Home and School

      (b) Initiation of the Child into an Institutional Setting

   (2) Comparison with Other Cases

   (3) Research--Theory and Method

   (4) Educational Practice

3. THE FAMILIES (Continued)

The following questions and issues provide a guide for collecting information on the families' history, background, and current experience living in the city, as well as their view of their child's education and their experience with formal schooling.

Family History, Composition, Relations, Attitudes

What is the immigration experience (if any) of the family?

Reasons for coming to U.S., to New York.

Relevant political/economic or other conditions in country of origin.

What knowledge did parents have of U.S. before coming here?

What is their view of U.S., New York area now? Has it changed over the years?

What is work experience of parents and/or other significant adults in the family? What is general relation to labor markets?

Where does family now reside? How long? Have they lived in other areas of U.S. or New York? Trace residence patterns.

What is their relationship to, and personal attitude toward, the neighborhood they now live in, as well as toward any others they have firsthand knowledge of?

What is their relationship to any of the specific Hispanic communities in the city?

What is educational experience and background of parents and/or other significant adults in family?

What is their apparent level of literacy, including what kinds of media sources do they use to gather information about the social environment? TV? Spanish language newspapers? Other printed materials?

To what extent does the family rely on extended family, neighbors, friends, children as sources of information?

To what extent does family use public/private service agencies, and for what purposes? What are their feelings about these agencies and people who work in them?

Who makes decisions for the family? Who organizes family activities? Who takes care of family business, including interactions with welfare, health, education and other agencies?

How does family see itself in the next five or ten years in terms of social and economic position?

Education and Deafness

What are parents' educational goals for their deaf child?

How did they decide to enroll their child in either Concordia or the public schools?

What is their view of the roles of teachers, administrators, test specialists, psychologists in the school? How much interaction do they have with each, and what is their view of those interactions?

What is the parents' view of their own role in the education of their child?

In what ways is the school environment different from the home, including values, ways of interacting with children, etc.?

How do parents handle discipline problems?

How did parents learn about their child's hearing disability? What was the experience like for them?

What do parents think the "implications" of deafness are for their child's education and future as adults?

How does their child handle his/her disability in various situations, including interaction with parents, with siblings, with peers and with teachers?

What can schools do to help child cope with the disability?

What is relationship between schooling and the rest of society in terms of what the child will need to find a job, become independent, etc.? Do parents in fact envision their child becoming an independent adult?

Relationship to Formal Schooling

How did parents learn about "Concordia" or the public schools? Do they know about any other schools or programs for the deaf/hearing impaired?

Does child have any prior experience of schooling in any form? Where, when, what was it like?

What are parents' impressions of their initial contacts with school officials? Of the intake process? Of the first days and weeks their child was in classroom? Of meetings with staff and teachers?

What is their child's response to school? Attitudes? Relations with teachers and peers? Adjustment problems, if any?

If there are siblings, are they in school? Where? What kinds of programs? How do they like it, etc.?

What should education provide for the disabled child?

How far will their child go in school?

Relationship to Formal Schooling (Continued)

What is the most important thing for the child to learn in school?

What changes would parents like to see in the intake process, as they experienced it?

What was their view of the IEPs and the conferences related to it? Did they see relationships between the assessments, placements and actual programming in the classroom? How did they understand these relationships?

What is their relationship to school officials, staff, teachers, etc.?

4. CHILD'S RESPONSE TO CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT

Peer relations; child-teacher relations; nature of the classroom as a socio-cultural milieu in which certain values, understandings and social relationships are produced and maintained. What are these, how are they produced, what response do children have (e.g., cooperation, resistance, acquiesence), and what forms do their responses take?

How do the children develop during the time of our observations of them, communicatively, socially, culturally? For example, there is a relationship between power and knowledge in the classroom and school environment that is different than that found in their homes? What is this relationship, which kids seem to figure it out, how do they respond to it?

Note, we want to know how they develop their communicative skills, but we don't want to limit ourselves to linguistic considerations such as learning negotiation strategies, turntaking, participation structures, etc. Rather, we want to go beyond that to the construction of social relationships, the production of what might be called a complex of intentions and understandings along with the production of social relationships of power, cooperation, conflict, resistance, conflict, or whatever we find.

5. SCHOOLS AS INSTITUTIONS

What is relationship between legal guidelines, implementation of these from state level, organizational structure of school, and actual practices?

What is the ideology of the school? What values are brought into play, what meanings and understandings? How are these brought into play, under what conditions, for what (apparent) purposes? Consider such issues as "structure," "oppositional," "limits," "individuals," "initiative," "leadership," "intelligence," "disruptive," "aggressive," "leadership," etc.

One of the things about the culture of schooling is that there seems to be a set of key terms like those above that are brought into play by several different people. It's almost as if the terms are using the people, rather than the people using the terms (reminds me of Heidegger's notions about language). But, of course, the people <u>are</u> using the terms for certain purposes, to reinforce (or enforce?) certain understandings, to legitimize certain actions, decisions, certain kinds of social relationship (which, of course, always involve power relations).

What are the relationships between power and knowledge in the school; power and knowledge in the home; power and knowledge in the community?

APPENDIX F

SAMPLE FIELD NOTES:

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION OF FLOR

9-20-85, 8:50 - 10:15 A.M.

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION: FLOR FRI: 9-20-85; 8:50-10:15

Pat, Ann
Jane, Andy, Sammy, Marty, Tina, Flor [Notes by: A. B.]

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1. [8:50]

When I come to the door, which is open, Pat is standing just inside interacting with one of the kids. I ask her if I can come in, she says "Sure, come on in." The kids are engaged in free play activity, some dressed up. Marty comes up and circles away as I come in. He is dressed up in a big hat and dress. Flor is over by Area 4 (v. classroom chart). I pull the little blue chair out from the little desk in Area 7, and sit by the shelves in Area 5. Pat is sitting in a chair by the observation mirror in A-8. Flor comes over to her with a pair of sunglasses that has a lens missing. Pat puts them on, then Flor reaches toward them and Pat gives them back. Flor takes them back and puts them on the Area 4 shelf. She stands behind Marty and Andy who are at the edge of A-6 playing with a large plastic train.

2.

While this is going on, Fran is organizing some kids to play bus. Jane has made a "driving" sign to Ann, and Ann has asked J. if she wanted to play bus. J. nods yes and Ann says okay and they start setting up some chairs between A-3 and A-4, first just a couple of chairs, then a few more as more kids get involved. Tina, Marty and Tina are the first to get involved in the game, and get on the bus in that order. The game involves Ann driving the bus, then coming to a stop to pick up a passenger. The passenger gets on and pays the fare and then sits down (v. diagram below). As she is doing all this, Ann verbalizes at the same time: "Okay, I'm gonna stop now. I stop! Open the door." Here a child who has been waiting by A-5 gets on the bus next to Ann, pays a fare, and Ann says, "Okay, go on inside." Then the child goes toward the back of the bus. If there are no more chairs, he/she drags one over and lines it up with the others.

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3. [9:00]

Flor gets on the bus too, then Andy, then Sammy, but with Sammy it's more complicated. Before he finally sits on the bus, the children are arranged like this:

FIG. 1: PLAYING SCHOOL BUS [A-3 A-4]

Sammy, like the others, waits for the bus near A-5. He has two plastic suitcases he's been carrying around for awhile. The bus stops, Ann tells him to get on. He comes over to the bus door, pays his fare, and Ann tells him, "Okay, now go on inside." He starts to move past Ann, like the other kids, but then veers away toward A-6 (he walked right through the front of the bus!), makes a big circle, and ends up standing at the "bus stop" again.

Meanwhile, Andy has changed positions from behind Ann to next to her. He's sitting in a little rocking chair right in front of Flor now. Flor starts pushing on the back of his chair, making it rock. He half turns towards her, turning toward the right, looking over his shoulder, kind of whining "Sto-o-o-o-p!" She stops, smiling in a kind of mischievous way, and he turns around again. Sammy is over in A-6, by the shelves between A-6 and A-4 playing a little plastic piano, then moving over to the organ, on which he plays a few notes, though he tires of this quickly. The seating arrangement looks like this now:

FIG. 2: PLAYING SCHOOL BUS (Cont.) [A-3 A-4]

Then Andy gets up and moves into A-4, his back turned to the rocking chair, his attention given to something in the shelves there. Sammy races in a big clockwise circle from A-6, around to A-5, then straight to the rocking chair. When A. turns around and sees his seat has been taken by S., he lets out a long whine that goes phonetically something like this: [hmral meg]. Sammy stays put, though. I get the impression Andy is at least concerned but not quite sure how to express it, or even whether to get angry, because as he whines he also smiles a bit. Later, though, he makes more of an issue of it when he starts poking and hitting S.

This argument over the rocking chair gets entangled with a simultaneous conflict between Marty and Andy over two "babies" (dolls). Andy had picked up a large doll when he got out of the chair, and Marty had already gotten a smaller one. M. comes over to A where he's standing by Sammy in the rocking chair and tries to pry A's doll out of his arms. But A doesn't let go, and M screams. Ann tries to get M interested in a trade, but he won't go for that. Then she tries to find a bigger doll over in A-4, getting up and walking over there, but she can't find it. While she's doing that M really starts attacking A., trying to hit him on the arms and chest. Pat gets up and goes over to them and talks quietly to M: "Why are you fighting?" As she is trying to deal with M., A. starts trying to pry S. out of the rocking chair. P. says to him, "Please, that hurts. Don't hit Sammy." When he stops, P. tries to get M. and A. to agree to a trade, telling A. that M. would like to trade dolls with him, but A won't go along with it and keeps a tight hold on his doll. A. makes a move toward S. in the chair, but P. explains to him, "He sat down in the chair. You got up. Sammy sat down. Maybe later you can sit in the chair."

Flor has watched all this, then she gets up to get a book out of A-3 and comes back and sits down, looking at the book. Pat has gone back to the chair in A-8. Tina comes over and hands her a pair of sunglasses and walks off. She evidently wanted to get rid of them to get her hands free for something else. Sammy makes a gesture toward the sunglasses and P. asks him if he wants them. He nods and she goes over and gives them to her. Andy is still hovering over him, clearly quite ready to take the chair back should Sammy get up. But he doesn't get up yet. In fact he doesn't get up until the chair is no longer a valued object (v. below). When Pat gives Sammy the sunglasses, Flor gets up and gets the other sunglasses (w. the missing lens) which are still on the shelf between A-8 and A-6, sits back down on the bus and puts the glasses on.

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4. [9:09]

Then A. starts hitting Sammy again and Pat immediately comes over again, saying, "Okay that's it. No hitting, no grabbing, no pinching, no fighting. You come over here and sit there for five minutes," and she leads A. over to the chair she was sitting in and makes him sit there. Flor watches all this closely. As P. is remonstrating with A, M. comes over and tries to get A's doll out of his hands, but A still holds on. P. tells him also, "No fighting."

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5. [9:11]

The bus is beginning to break up now, kids are beginning to scatter, but Jane, Flor and Sammy are still in place. The game has changed a bit. Ann has let other kids take turns being the driver, Tina, then Jane (I think), but the interaction becomes more diffuse with this. She also has different kids take turns holding up a big stop sign in front of the bus to tell the driver when to stop. Jane is driving at one moment and Ann holding up the stop sign. Meanwhile, Pat and Marty are over in A-6, playing with something. Andy shows signs of wanting to get up but doesn't. Pat calls over to him, "A. do you want to come and play now? Okay, you can come and play, but no fighting." When A. comes over to the shelves where M. is standing, facing up toward the end of the room ("up" = toward the sink and snack area; "down" = toward the door and mirror area), A. puts his large doll down on the shelves near Marty. Pat tells M, "Andy gave you the baby doll, M." But M doesn't look up from his own doll, which he has on the shelf in front of him, and doesn't take the doll A had put down. Pat asks him if he wants the doll, tells him to look and see A. is giving him his doll. M turns his head to the left, toward Andy, looks at him frowning, and then turns back again. Eventually he does pick up the other doll.

5.

Tina runs over and flicks the lights off, runs back to Ann near A-5 and interacts with her about "birthdays" or "birthday cakes," apparently proposing a game having to do with that. Flor watches the interaction carefully from her seat on the bus, her eyes moving back and forth between Ann and Tina as each takes a turn at talk. She's monitoring their conversation very closely and smiles when Ann uses the words "Birthday cake." Tina runs over toward the sink, apparently looking for a cake, perhaps the playdough they had pretended was a cake the other day. Then she gets the idea she wants to play with water and communicates this to Ann (although I missed this). Ann says, "you want to play with water? Okay." And Pat says, "Okay, first turn the lights on and then you can play with water." Tina flits over to the lights and turns them on, not without flicking them on and off rapidly a few times though.

The bus has broken up now, except for Sammy who is still in the rocking chair. He sits there for a few seconds while everyone abandons the game, some kids moving over toward the water table. Flor goes to the table in A-3 where the books are, takes a book from the shelf, and starts to look at it on the table. Sammy gets up from the rocking chair which is now no longer of particular value--Andy doesn't want it, as he is getting involved with the water table too.

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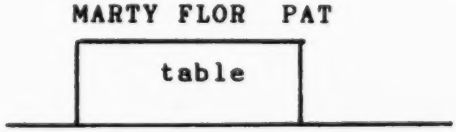
6. [9:15]

Tina, Jane, Marty and Andy get involved in the water table. I focus my attention on Flor.

P. sees F. looking at the book and invites her to read with her: "Would you like to come over with me and read a book?" Flor smiles and nods her head. (According to Karin, Flor and Pat went thru a similar routine yesterday.) Flor brings a book over to Pat who has sat down in A-8 in the chair by the mirror again. Marty is in A-6 struggling with his sneakers, trying to get them on. The laces of one of them are tied in a knot. He is whining, apparently trying to attract P's attention. Eventually he comes over to where P. and F. are and holds up his shoe. Altho P. tells him he is big enough to put his own shoes on now, she does untie the knot for him.

P. and F. look together through a book that has pictures of animals hidden behind little flaps on the pages that can be opened to reveal the picture underneath, usually of an animal like an alligator, bear, snake, etc. [title of book?] F. opens each flap, watching P. as she does so, and P. usually says, "Who's in there?" or "I wonder what's behind this door. Let's see." F. opens the flap, sometimes pointing at the picture, and P. names the animal, usually adding a comment: "A hippopatumus, a great, big fat one!" Marty then moves in, trying to turn the pages, a job Flor has been doing. She lets go of the page as Marty turns it, but continues to point at each flap, looking at P., opening it, looking at P. as she names the animal. Then Marty tries to pick the book up with both hands, but P. says, "Wait a minute, M. Ask F. This is F.'s book." But they are at the end of the book, and F. gives the book to Marty. P. asks if she wants another book, and F. nods "yes," and they pick up another of the books that F. had brought over. Participant positions are as follows:

FIG. 3: READING WITH PAT [A-8]



This second book is about a little girl that shows her in two aspects on each of two pages [title?]. Pat reads as F. turns each page: "Sometimes she plays with the baby. Sometimes she doesn't like the baby." "Sometimes she's nice and clean. Sometimes she gets all dirty." Marty has put

the first book aside and takes a very active interest here again, also pointing at each picture, looking at P. for response, turning the pages. For a moment Flor becomes rather passive, looking down and a bit to the side of the book as this goes on. This is an interruption of her prior routine that she had established with P. Pat seems to notice this and as she reads she leans down and to the right so she is looking directly into Flor's face as she reads. At this, Flor takes a more active role again.

When they finish, P. asks, "Want more?" F. nods. P.: "Okay, get more books." F. goes to A-3 and brings back two or three more books, putting them on the table by the mirror. Marty tries to do a separate book with Pat, the one with flaps covering pictures that Flor had done first. But F. has already picked a book and P. tells M., "We're doing this book now." Then F. points at Marty's book. Pat lets him turn a few pages, point at the flaps, open them, and she names the animals. Then she gives her attention to Flor's book again. This book too has flaps covering pictures. Pat says on one page, "Open the closet. And a crane [?] with a little doll!" F. is yawning now and then at this point, evidently a little tired. (P. noted this as I was leaving later, saying that F. seemed a little bit tired today, but so did some of the other kids). About this time some of the kids from another class come to the door and have an interaction across the room with Ann about someone's birthday. They are making a birthday cake. Ann tells them to save a piece for her, and Pat says she wants just a "little little piece."

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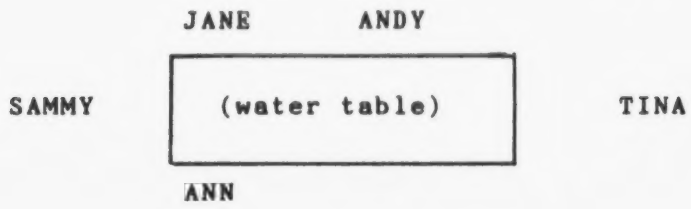
7. [9:25]

Flor takes the three books back to the shelves in A-3 and then moves in stages, slowly, toward the kids at the water table. First she stops at the end of the shelves between A-1 and A-3 and dabbles with a little toy sitting on the shelf there, watching what the other kids are doing at the water table. Then she moves past that and stops a little to one side and behind Tina, watching again. Ann invites her in by asking if she wants to play with water too. Then Flor moves to the water table:

FIGURE 4: PLAYING AT WATER TABLE [A-7]



F. puts a straw in her mouth, looks at Ann. Meanwhile, Andy makes a big splash by dropping something in the water and Flor gets some water in her face. Ann tells her to take a Kleenex from the shelves behind her, which she does and wipes her face. F. watches the other kids a few moments, doesn't play at first, then starts to follow suit. They are most of them pouring water from one container to another, or from containers into the water. Flor starts scooping and pouring water from a plastic cup. Then she picks up a big plastic funnel and pours water in it.

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8. [9:34]

Pat has started to check kids' hearing aids. She is still in A-8, checking Marty's aids. As she does so, she talks to him about how angry he is today, about how he's having a hard day: "We're gonna have a hard day today, I guess." Ann asks Pat when they should stop. Pat says she wants to check a few more aids first, that they can stop in a few minutes.

9. [9:39]

Ann starts telling the kids they are going to stop in five mins. Pat starts cleaning up, picking up some of the toys, clothes, dolls the kids have scattered on the floor. Ann asks P. how Marty is doing. P. responds, "Marty is very angry today." After picking up some of the litter, P. goes over to the water table and asks Flor if she can check her aids. "Let me look into one, okay?" Flor leans her head over toward P. on her right, and holds her ear up so P. can take the aid off. Then she moves around behind Flor to her left and checks the other aid. She has a little trouble getting the left one because Flor is concentrating on the water, pouring water into the funnel. As she checks F.'s aids, Pat tells the other kids, "We're gonna make jello,

Jane. We're gonna make Jello, Flor. Andy, we're gonna make jello now. We have to stop now."

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10. [9:46]

Jane and Andy go over to the sink to wash their hands. Flor has lingered at the water table, still playing, but Pat tells her, "We have to stop now." Then Flor goes over to the sink to wash her hands too, hesitating a bit as Jane and Andy finish up. When she's done, she comes back to play with the same toy on the shelf between A-1 and A-3. Marty comes over to it and starts operating it too, parallel to Flor's play, but neither interacts directly with the other. Some of the other kids are cleaning up, and Pat tells Flor and Marty to help, which they do.

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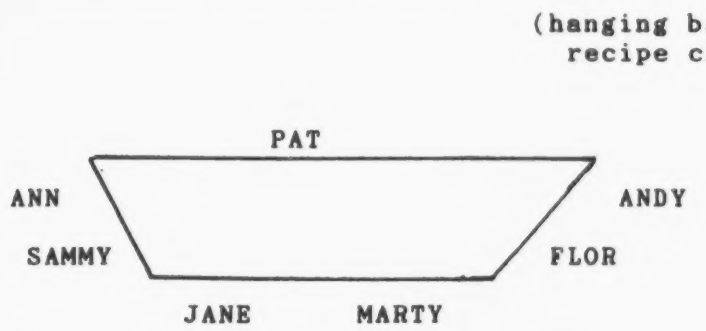
11. [9:50]

Tina is taken out for speech.
The kids, as they finish their cleanup tasks, start to sit at the snack table. Pat is behind it and starts to bring out objects for the jello-making. She brings out a hotplate and tells all of them together, and then each kid, "Don't touch this. It's very hot. Andy, don't touch this, it's hot, hot!" etc. She slides over a metal framework thing on wheels and puts it to her left. A moment later I realize what it is when she hangs a recipe for Jello on it, that gives the ingredients and has some pictures to illustrate (must look at this again). The kids sit down in this order: Jane, Marty; Sammy; Ann; Andy; Flor:

FIGURE 5: MAKING JELLO AT SNACK TABLE [A-1/A-2]



Pat brings out a large bowl, a measuring cup, a spoon, each time saying, "What do I need now. Oh! I need a bowl!" (then gets a bowl). "And I need water, so I need a cup to put it in." "Jello! we're gonna make Jello. Lots and lots

and lots of Jello"(here she hangs the recipe poster on the bar). Then she says to Flor: "Flor, would you go and get me some water. A full cup." She hands F. the cup. "A full cup, a full cup of water. Hurry up! Hurry up! A full cup of water." As Flor brings the cup carefully back, filled to the brim, she Pat says, "Careful, careful, don't spill it, very careful." Meanwhile, Jane is climbing on the table, and reaches her hand out toward the hotplate to feel the heat. Pat tells her, "Oh, that's very hot. Don't touch that." Then she asks Marty to get some water, telling him too to get a full cup, and to hurry, hurry. He does hurry, but so much so that he comes back with about a quarter of a cup. Pat says, "Oh, we need a full cup, a full cup, we need a full cup." M. goes back to fill the cup. When she has enough water in the pan heating up, then she holds up a box of orange jello and opens it. She asks the kids, "Wanna pour it in?" Several nod "yes." "Okay, everybody can pour a little bit." Andy seems eager to be first. He says something that is phonetically like: [mai], repeating this four or five times, raising his right hand halfway. But first Pat asks if they want to taste it: "Wanna taste it, Jane. Wanna taste it, Marty," etc., asking each kid. About here Tina comes back from speech with a picture of Sammy (his turn to go to speech). Tina takes his seat as he gets up, takes the picture, and leaves with the speech teacher.

Pat says to Tina: "We're making jello. Wanna taste it? Orange jello." Tina, like the other kids, puts a little jello on her finger and tastes it.

Then Pat tells A.: "A., wanna pour a little bit, then everyone can pour a little bit, just a little bit." Pat gives him the box and guides the pouring, telling him to pour "just a little bit." She does this with each kid, providing their actions with a continuous verbal accompaniment: "Would you pour a little bit, Flor, just a little bit," (repeating this two or three times). When Marty takes a turn he pours quite a bit, and Pat says, "Oh, that's a lot. You poured a lot, Marty."

When each has had a turn at pouring, including Ann, Pat says, "One more box. One more. We need one more box of Jello. Open up the Jello box." After opening the second box, Pat says, "Okay, we're gonna pour a little bit. First Andy, and then Flor, and then Marty, and then Jane, and then...what's your name?" "Tina." "And then Tina, and then Ann."

After this is done, P. removes the lid of the pan. The water is boiling now, and steam comes pouring up. "Whooo! is that hot! It's steaming and boiling and boiling and boiling. Don't touch it." (Jane and Marty have crawled onto the table to get a look). "Get off the table now. This is very hot." "I'm gonna turn it off. I'm gonna take the pan off now. Tina, hurry, get me a full cup of cold water. Hurry up! Hurry up!" Tina gets the water. P. gives each kid a turn at stirring the jello after she has

poured the hot water in. Tina comes with the cold water and P. tells her to pour it in, which she does.

Pat asks Flor to get a cup of cold water, using the same directions she used with T. Flor gets full cup of water, brings it carefully back, pours it slowly into the bowl. As she does so, Pat says, "Oh perfect. Perfect, perfect, perfect. The kids take turns stirring, moving this time from left to right, Tina to Andy.

Then Pat takes plastic cups, like those used for milk in snack time, and says, "This is my cup, my jello cup." She writes her name on it with a marker.

Tina somehow communicates that they can drink it (I missed this.) Pat says, "We're not gonna drink it. We're gonna put it in the refrigerator and make it cold. Then after we rest this afternoon, we're gonna take it out." She writes names on cups for each kid and has each come around behind the table and scoop the liquid jello into the cup with the big plastic spoon. As they do this, Pat accompanies their actions with: "Put it in and put it in and put it in. Little bit more, little bit more, and there! Perfect!"

This time turntaking doesn't go the "round robin" route. Instead, Pat calls on different kids "at random." First Tina, then (I think, Flor). When Flor's turn comes, Pat says, "And now it's...what's your name? What's your name? What's your name?" Tina says, "Flor." Pat keeps looking at Flor: "What's your name?" Finally Flor says softly, "Flor." As Flor pours the Jello, Pat counts: "Pour it in. One spoonful. Two spoonfuls. Three spoonfuls. Spoonsful? Spoonfuls? Spoonfuls? That's right isn't it?" she asks Ann. "Spoonfuls. Four spoonfuls! Perfect! Perfect!"

As she writes the name on each cup, she shows it to each of the kids as they stand next to her. When it's Jane's turn, P. writes "J-a-n-" on the cup. She asks Jane if that's okay: "That's it, right? That's all? J-a-n." Jane finally says, "e' and P. adds an "e" to the name. On the cup. Marty and then Jane start dipping their fingers in the bowl. Pat treats this seriously: "Marty, please don't do that. Jane please don't do that."

When it's Tina's turn to pour, Pat counts, as she did with Flor: "One spoonful, two spoonfuls." Then she pulls the cup away and says, "That's all?" Tina says, "No!" and Pat puts the cup back. Meanwhile T. starts to put the spoon in her mouth. Pat says, "Please don't put the spoon in your mouth, T." Tina doesn't take the spoon out of her mouth and P. takes the spoon from her. Then she writes Sammy's name on a cup and has T. pour into that one too. Before it is full, Pat asks all the kids: "That's enough? That's enough, right?" Jane and Marty say "Nooo!" Flor nods, "Yes." Andy gets to fill Ann's cup for her.

There is still a little left in the bowl. Pat asks, "What should I do with it?" She shows the kids what's left in the bowl, tipping it toward them, repeating a number of

times, "What should we do with this?" She says she'll pour the rest in a small bowl, which she does. There is still some left in the big bowl. Pat: "And! A little bit more for me," (and she pours some into her cup). "And a little bit more for, Jane, and for Marty," etc., pouring some in each kids' cup. But she skips Tina's cup. Pat says, "Oh, I forgot." Tina says, "Tina." Pat says, "I forgot Tina." Pat picks up each cup and puts them on a tray. Jane, Marty and Tina rush to open the door of the kitchen in the hallway. Flor, Sammy and Andy [?] follow Pat as she carries the tray out to the kitchen, saying, "Have to be careful. Carry the tray slowly and carefully." In a moment they come back for snack. It's 10:14.

At 10:15 I leave.

[COMMENT] Pat keeps up a continual verbal accompaniment to the children's, and her own, actions when they are engaged in what might be called a "learning activity." Ann does the same, e.g., when she was playing "bus" with the kids last Friday. The language they use describes what they, or the child, is doing at the moment, uses a lot of repetition, and occasionally provides commentary on some aspect of the activity. When a group activity is under way, Pat is careful to address each child, often saying almost exactly the same thing to each child in turn. The verbal accompaniment not only describes the actions or activity, but it also does seem to provide an indirect commentary on the nature of the ongoing social relationships. This is accomplished through creating a kind of "aura" or "tone" for the child's or teacher's actions that is difficult to describe, but that is conveyed through prosodic modulations of intonation, rhythm and loudness.

As I noted in FLDNTSCO.F1, Pat never raises her voice, even when admonishing a child, though she does change her tone somewhat. It would be hard to explain the association of particular meanings or values with these prosodic modulations, but they seem to draw on conceptions we have in middleclass American culture of how to talk in a nice way to children. Mr. Rogers uses them too, and in fact does a lot of the same kind of verbal accompaniment to his own actions, if I remember rightly. It would be worth taping some of the class on audiotape to get a more reliable documentation than I can give in writing.

The meanings that are associated seem to have a lot more to do with the social relationships between participants than with the activity they are engaged in. That is, the verbal content of Pat's and Ann's "accompaniment" to classroom activities changes its referents, depending on the activity itself--making Jello, playing the "fishing" game, playing "bus," reading from a

book, etc. But the prosodic or tonal aspects of the speech remain the same across these different occasions. What seems to be conveyed is a kind of complex of meanings and values, such as, "we have everything under control," "things are running along smoothly," "everyone is enjoying this," etc.

Alongside these sort of pleasant associations, there is a kind of moving back and forth from one pole to another of social control or distribution of power between kids and teachers. That is, sometimes control by the teachers is fairly direct and overt, sometimes roles are reversed, sometimes the teacher treats herself as the children's equal. These shifts are accomplished partly through shifts in verbal content, from, for example, describing someone's actions ongoingly to telling them directly not to do something, or to do something. They are also accomplished through turntaking or through directing an utterance at a particular person.

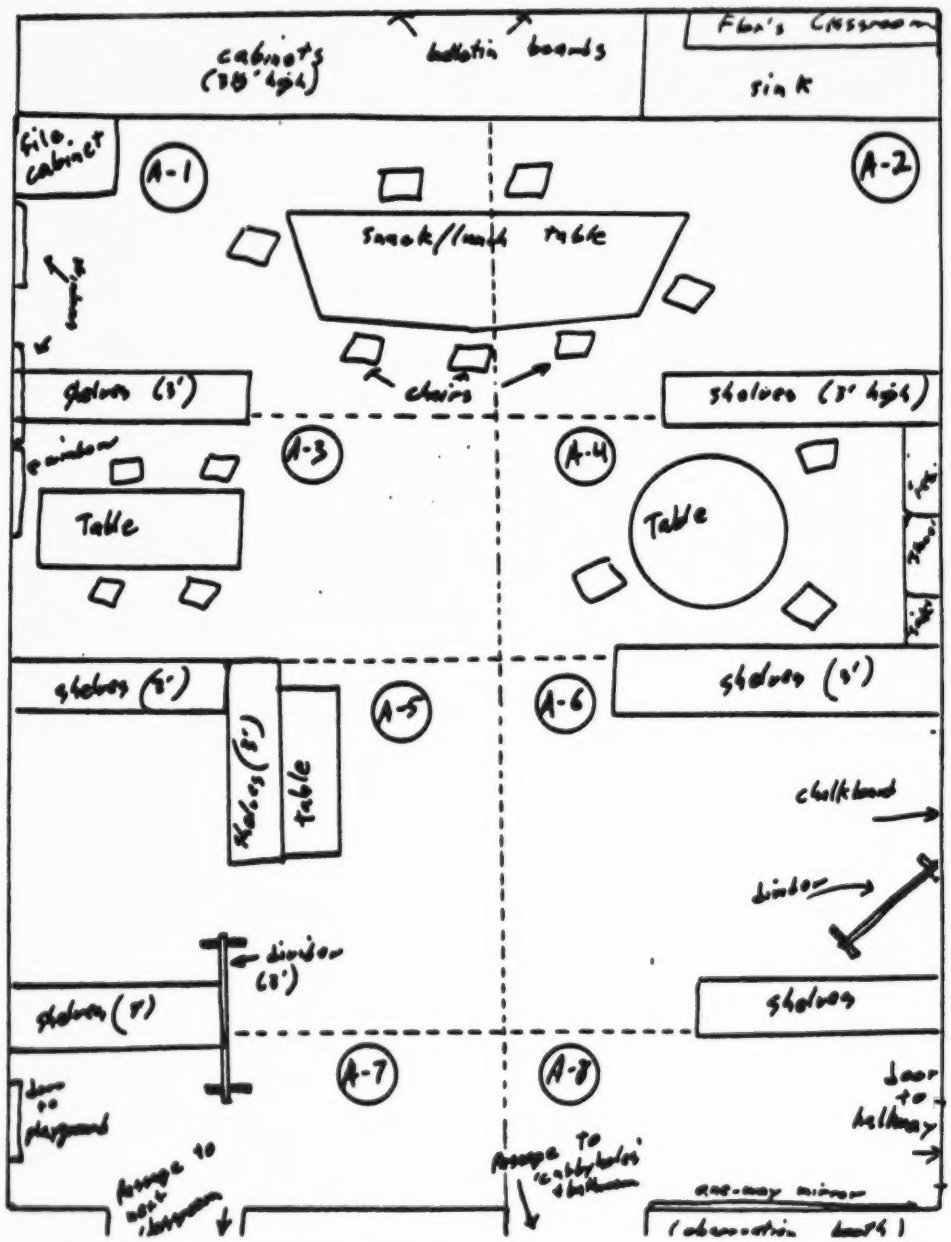
For example, Pat treats each child equally in the sense of often addressing the same verbal content, using the same intonation, to each of them. There are several examples above.

One wonders how much the children pick up of all this interplay between shifts in verbal content, prosodic modulation, turntaking and directing utterances to specific people (or to the whole group), and also shifts in speech acts (such as assertions, questions, directives). The fact that the children seem to respond to it all by a pretty high level of cooperation (compared to other classrooms I've observed), indicates that they are getting something that is very key, basic, crucial, or essential to the general social organization of the classroom here.

Another aspect of this, mentioned only briefly above, is the constant shifting in power relations or social control. While the teacher maintains a good deal of control, she does it in such a "nice" way that it seems there are a lot of opportunities for kids to take fairly active roles in the ongoing social activities of the classroom. There are few opportunities for them to build justifiable grudges against the teachers, for example, because misdemeanors are never made a big deal of, and quite a bit of latitude is given for "deviant" actions--depending of course on the overt purposes of the activity. That is, more leeway is given in "unstructured" activities, such as "worktime" early in the day, than in "structured" group activities like snack or making jello.

I'm sure the kids know all this themselves in the sense of being able to respond appropriately and know what is going on at any given moment. Their knowledge is probably not explicit of course, and they are still learning. And some of them know a lot more than others about how things go here, about rules, about what is sanctioned and what isn't. Flor, it seems clear, doesn't exhibit a lot of confidence about her own knowledge of classroom social life yet,

because she often hesitates to jump in (contrast Tina!), often checks things out with teachers by monitoring their reactions to things. On the other hand, one would expect that Flor would know a lot about how classrooms go in general, having already had quite a bit of experience. For example, is it safe to infer that one thing she does know is that some behaviors are okay and some are not; i.e., that, as Wolcott, Phillip Jackson, and others have put it, schools are "evaluative settings"? he just may not know yet exactly what behaviors are okay and what are not. And of course, she may also know that how a behavior is evaluated at any given moment depends a lot on the context in which it is performed. Again, she is probably still sorting this out.



Classroom Divided into
Eight Areas for Reference